

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 19, 1880.

The Week.

THE two principal "campaign stories" of the week are that Mr. English has, during the past three or four years, foreclosed a considerable number of mortgages in Indiana to recover payment of small loans. This discovery was made by the *Cincinnati Commercial*, and many of our esteemed Republican contemporaries seem to think it a very valuable one. Some of them have given up nearly a whole page to the list of foreclosures. Mr. English seems, like many other men, to be in the habit of investing considerable sums on mortgage, which is usually considered a business transaction, the object of the mortgage being to enable the creditor to get his money back in case the interest is not paid. But the esteemed Republican contemporaries seem to think that the mortgage is something which is drawn up either for fun or to save the debtor's dignity, and which no creditor fit to be Vice-President would think of taking seriously. So when Mr. English treats his as real security and enforces it, they denounce him as a humbug and hypocrite, and as "no poor man's friend." This is a sorry business for a paper like the *Cincinnati Commercial* to take up, and would be much better suited to Denis Kearney's organ. When the editor takes a mortgage we wonder what he does with it?

The other "story" is that General Arthur was really born in Ireland, and is therefore disqualified. He admits that his father was an Irishman, but says his mother was a New-Englander who never left her native country. But Mr. Hinman knows better, and says that he can prove that Mr. Arthur, senior, came to this country thirty-five years ago, when the son was about fourteen years old, which looks badly for the son, as, if he first crossed the ocean at the age of fourteen, he must have known he was not born in the United States, and must now be "lying," as Horace Greeley used to say, "knowingly, wilfully, and with naked intent to deceive." Nothing will satisfy Mr. Hinman, however, short of the calling of another Republican convention and the nomination of a native in place of Mr. Arthur. There seems to be a decline of interest in Hancock and Garfield on the part of the story-tellers, and it has even become fashionable to admit on the stump that they are both men of good character. In fact, the wretched way in which Hancock "pans out" as a rascal is a sore subject with many of our Republican contemporaries when they look at the piles of useless material about Tilden's atrocities which they had collected, in their expectation that the old villain would assuredly be nominated. Our advice to them would be to publish it all the same. It will show what kind of party the Democratic party must be to have such a person even as an adviser. We must not omit to mention, however, that it is found almost impossible to sell Hancock's campaign life to the Democratic farmers. These simple-minded but sagacious men say they "have heard enough of Hancock," and the Democratic book agents are greatly disheartened. It has also come out that a poor old soldier went to Garfield to ask for relief, and he brutally told him that "he did nothing for soldiers," and asked him why he did not go to the almshouse. Republican candidates almost always treat soldiers in this way. Schuyler Colfax once refused to see an old soldier because he could not send up a visiting card on a silver salver offered to him for that purpose by Colfax's pampered footman. The poor veteran thus refused by Garfield then wrote a letter to Hancock, and by return of mail came a fifty-dollar check and a kind note. There are rumors afloat also that Garfield has an unpaid tailor's bill at Troy, New York, and stole much furniture and bedding from a widow at the South.

Mr. Blaine in his speech at Bath, Me., on Monday, the 9th inst., set a good example by addressing himself to the action of the two parties respectively with regard to the national finances, showing that the Democrats in Congress opposed the act of 1869, for the strengthening

of the public credit by declaring the Government obligations payable in coin; the act of 1870, for the refunding of the public debt at a lower rate of interest; and the act of 1875, providing for a return to specie payments—the three great measures by which the national credit has been restored. It is quite true that these measures did not receive the entire Republican vote, but it is also true that they received most of it, and that they were Republican measures, and that the debates and divisions on them fairly support the conclusion that, although the Republican party has not been wholly sound with regard to finance, the Democratic party has been almost wholly unsound, and, in fact, has produced no respectable financial doctrine whatever. In discussing the tariff he took high protectionist ground, and drew a woful picture of what would happen to the manufacturing and ship-building interests of Maine if the Democratic plan of a tariff for revenue only were adopted. He did nothing to explain the present exclusion of the United States from the foreign carrying trade, and, in fact, did not go below the surface of his case on any point; but the speech was a wholesome one, and dwelt mainly, as speeches in a canvass ought to dwell, on matters which are controllable by legislation.

At the Bankers' Convention which has been sitting at Saratoga a letter on the national banking system from Secretary Sherman was read on Thursday. He traced the history of the connection of the Government with the State banks, showing the loss and embarrassment suffered by the acceptance of their bills in payment of Government dues, and the immense gain by the substitution of the more stable currency of the national banks, and by the use of these banks as depositories of the Government bonds. Indeed, the letter was a demonstration of the complete sufficiency of the national-bank currency for all the needs of the country as regards paper money, and raises the question how its statements are to be reconciled with Mr. Sherman's arguments last winter in favor of a permanent Government issue of paper money. It would have been very interesting to have heard from him on that point also, but he did not touch on it. The most valuable of the other papers was one by Mr. George S. Coe, of this city, on the silver question, in which he exposed once more the danger of the continued coinage of silver now going on. He pointed out that there is at this moment a difference of \$8,000,000 between the nominal value and the commercial value of the silver already coined. What makes the persistence of Congress in keeping up this coinage the more extraordinary is, that the silver is of no use in trade; the balance due us from Europe, owing to the enormous increase of our exports, being every year very large, and mostly settled in gold. Mr. Coe's own remedy, however, which consists in making the Government receive silver without limit on deposit, and issue certificates against it at the market value of the metal, for use in circulation, is open to the fatal objection that it might deluge the country with a third highly fluctuating currency, and would almost certainly make us the recipient of all the surplus silver of Europe. When a folly like the Silver Bill has been committed the only safe remedy is to drop it altogether. The experiment has been fairly tried, and the honest silver-men can abandon their position without discredit.

Since our last issue about \$2,500,000 gold has arrived from Europe, and between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000 is on the way here. Although what is called the foreign-trade balance, as made up from the Custom-house records, is not as favorable for the United States as a year ago, yet the actual balance is probably nearly so on account of the large shipments to Europe of American railroad securities, a demand for which has arisen because of the enormous earnings of the roads. As there is no official record of the exports and imports of securities, estimates as to the amount of gold which will be imported during the remainder of the year vary, the lowest being \$15,000,000 and the highest \$50,000,000. The principal part of the reserves of the New York banks consists of specie; the legal-tender-note part having fallen so low that it is no longer considered possible for the New York banks to supply the ordinary demands from the South and West for currency

without the use of gold or silver dollars. The standard silver buzzard dollars can be sent at the expense of the Government to any part of the country, while, if gold is sent, either the shipper or the consignee must pay the express charge. It is likely, therefore, that the Treasury will be able to relieve its vaults of a part of the silver stored in them, and that the West and South will have an abundance of the ancient dollars for which their representatives a few years ago clamored. It was a dull week at the Stock Exchange. General trade continues active.

The Tennessee Democratic State Convention has resulted in a complete victory of the State-Credit party and a bolt by the Repudiators, who have set up a candidate of their own for governor, though they propose to support Hancock for President. The history of repudiation in Tennessee has been a long and disgraceful one, and it is fortunate for the State that it has reached a point at which a plain issue between making some sort of settlement with its creditors and robbing them out and out is at last prevented. There has never been any reason for repudiation at all. The entire debt amounts to some \$25,000,000, and the interest on it could have been met by a rate of taxation which capital could easily bear. But instead of taking any means to provide for it, the debt has been left for years to the mercy of the legislature, which has steadily refused to impose an adequate tax. This disregard of its obligations has, of course, strengthened the hands of the out-and-out Repudiationists, and the real difference between these and the State-Credit party is that the latter's platform insists upon a final settlement of some kind, while the former insist (we quote from the platform) upon the right of the people "to settle for themselves by direct vote their alleged indebtedness." This, they say, is "the only right the people have been able to secure after years of struggle and contest," and they do not mean to give it up. The State-Credit plank, on the other hand, is as follows:

"We recognize a disposition upon the part of the creditors of the State, in view of the great losses entailed by the late war, the great depression of business, and the general shrinkage in values, to make a liberal reduction in both the principal and interest of our bonded indebtedness, and we declare that we favor a prompt settlement by the legislature with our creditors upon the best terms that can be agreed upon as a result of negotiation."

This was carried by a vote of nearly two to one, and, mild as it is, is certainly a victory for honesty and good government. The bolt will not affect the Presidential election in any way.

The Georgia Democratic Convention, after a week's conflict of extraordinary tenacity and excitement, adjourned without being able to agree upon a candidate for governor. The present incumbent, Gov. A. H. Colquitt, was the choice of much more than a majority, but the convention had bound itself not to abrogate the two-thirds rule, and neither side would budge. They agreed, however, upon candidates for all the other State offices, and the majority recommended Gov. Colquitt to the people, while the minority separately denounced him and nominated ex-Senator Norwood. In view of these dissensions the Republicans have called a convention for September, to consider how they can profit by the situation, and whether they shall support one or other of the Democratic candidates, or nominate a straight ticket. The latter course is hopeless, and there is one reason for their supporting Gov. Colquitt which seems to us almost like the voice of duty. Early in this month the country was shocked by the news of a peculiarly atrocious assault upon an unoffending colored family living near Atlanta. A gang of white ruffians, masked, the leader of whom had been fined for previous brutality to one of the victims, attacked his cabin by night, dragged him and his aged wife out and beat them unmercifully, shot their married daughter dead in bed beside her little ones, and seriously wounded her brother. "In no country—in no section—under no circumstances," said the *Atlanta Constitution*, "has there ever been a more horrible crime committed." The assassins were recognized in spite of their disguise, and arrested, and a report having reached Governor Colquitt that their friends intended a rescue, he took the Gate City Guard, a local troop, to the adjoining town of Jonesboro, brought away the prisoners, and lodged them in the Atlanta jail. Such an act deserves acknowledg-

ment, and the more specific the better. We do not know what surer guarantee there could be for the lives and fortunes of the colored people of Georgia than to maintain Governor Colquitt in office by voting for him on the express ground of his readiness to execute justice without regard to color or color prejudice.

The report that there have been, or are going to be, tremendous census frauds at the South, wrought in order to increase Southern representation, is being vigorously used, in default of outrages, to stimulate sectional feeling in the canvass; and it, of course, derives a certain apparent support from such undoubtedly fraudulent operations as the Alabama election. The way the story is worked up is by taking what appear to be the returns in certain districts, and showing that these districts cannot contain as many inhabitants as the returns would seem to contain, and then inferring cheating on the same scale in all the other districts. But unfortunately, or fortunately, General Walker, the Superintendent of the Census, who knows more about the matter than anybody else—perhaps, indeed, as much as all the rest of the world—not only does not believe these stories, but explains that from the very nature of the counting machinery the data on which they are based must be worthless. The enumerators have been selected by the Census Department with care; they are presumably honest, and their honesty is fostered by the fact that if detected in fraud they go to the penitentiary for two years, and that frauds are easily discovered by the system of checks in use. So we doubt if this cry will be of much use, and trust Republican workers and speakers will turn to more serious matters. We venture to say that many more voters are disgusted and repelled than are won over by this sort of electioneering.

Complaint is made that the census shows a rate of increase in the South greater than that of the North, or 28 per cent. against 27 per cent. But in the first place, the rate of growth in population is a delusive basis of comparison. In the second place, it is not denied that on account of exceptional immigration the rates of Florida and Texas are reasonably large, though Florida gains but about 112,000 over the census of 1870, and Texas only 682,000 (or 68,200 per annum, natural increase and immigration combined). Leaving out these States, the rate for the remainder of the South is 23 per cent. But, except that they are Democratic, is there, for statistical purposes, any reason for calling Missouri, Maryland, Delaware, or West Virginia Southern States; and does 44 per cent. seem to any one who knows the natural resources of Arkansas, the extension of the railroad system there, and the efforts made by the roads to dispose of their lands to immigrants, a suspicious increase for that State, even if it involves 306,000 additional population? Excluding these States also, the remainder show a rate of a little more than 17 per cent. (against 16 per cent. for New England.) We for our part know no reason why Virginia and Kentucky should not likewise be abstracted, or why 30 and 31 per cent. respectively seem abnormal in their case. However, the main outcry is against South Carolina, when its rate is only 3 per cent., and its total increase 25,000—if we may trust a table prepared by the *Boston Advertiser*, which we have thus far used, and which has been relied upon by most of the Stalwart press. The *Charleston News and Courier*, however, defends a computed increase of 247,804, and consequent rate of 35 per cent., placing it sixth on the Southern list of rates. The improbability of this the *News and Courier* explains away by charging manifest errors upon the census of 1870, and this method will not be questioned by the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, which says that if St. Louis had 310,864 inhabitants in 1870 "it must be apparent to the dullest comprehension" that "the census of this year must be widely erroneous."

As the time for the Indiana election draws nearer, its effect upon the minds of our esteemed contemporaries becomes more and more powerful. The defeated party in the recent constitutional-amendments case have petitioned for a rehearing, and the *Times* correspondent says that one judge is reported as having stated that the court would probably "grant a rehearing and reverse the decision." The

decision prevented Indiana from becoming a November State; a reversal would make it a November State, and the *Times* correspondent says that "it is significant of the disrepute into which the court has fallen, that *the general idea is* that it will be guided in its action entirely by the political situation." No decision will be made until near the time for the October election, and "then, if the political managers think they can carry the State and influence the November election, the court will allow the decision to stand, or at least will not reverse it until after election." But, "if the managers think the contest in October doubtful, or certainly against them, and that a Republican victory would end all hope for November, the court will not scruple to reverse its decision, throw the election over until November, and avoid the sure disaster which defeat in Indiana in October would precipitate." "That," adds the correspondent, "*is the feeling here.*" He has forgotten to mention one important fact—viz., that the petition for rehearing was the result of a corrupt arrangement between the defeated party and the Democratic managers. Such judges as the correspondent describes are very bad men, but no amount of badness will enable a judge to render partisan decisions until matters are brought before him for a hearing, and the opportunity for a reversal of the decision (originally unsatisfactory to the Republicans) is given by the Republicans themselves. How this can be the result of anything but a corrupt understanding between the Republican managers and the Democratic managers we do not see, and we beg to call our contemporary's attention to this aspect of the matter. Its correspondent is active and intelligent, and we feel confident that in the end he will get to the bottom of this Indiana conspiracy, which is one of the blackest in the annals of the bench. The *Albany Law Journal*, we notice, thinks that there is a good deal to be said on both sides of the question decided by the Indiana judges, but this was before the *Times* correspondent got at what the lawyers call the *ratio decidendi* of the case.

The annual report of the Texas-and-Pacific Railroad has been published, and is in some respects curious reading. This road has been of late years one of the most persistent and clamorous applicants for more subsidies from the Government, without which, it was stoutly maintained, it could not possibly be completed. After long and vain lobbying its managers came last year to the conclusion that there was no chance of getting the United States to help them to build the road, so they resolved in despair to build it themselves, and made a contract for six hundred miles of extension from Fort Worth to El Paso, the whole to be completed and equipped before the first of January, 1883. The work was begun promptly and has been prosecuted vigorously, and the report says 100 miles will be finished by October of this year, 50 more by April, 1881, and the rest within the time specified in the contract. The company will then have 1,140 miles of road, and expects in a few years to have only \$25,000 of mortgage debt and \$20,000 of capital stock per mile, as the capitalized cost of the road. Moreover, the business on the completed portion seems to be increasing rapidly. In fact, the outlook is cheerful in the highest degree, and shows what enterprising men can do when their attention is not distracted from their legitimate business by lobbying in Washington.

The Grand Jury which has been investigating the *Seawanhaka* disaster has found true bills for manslaughter against the owners, the captain, the engineer, and the Government inspectors. The presentment, with regard to the system of Government inspection, would have been much more effective had it been more judicial in tone; but the array of facts is such as has never before been made public in a civilized community. The jury state that an examination of seven engineers, licensed by the Inspector of Boilers and Machinery, has resulted in showing them all to be "incompetent for their several positions"; that there is no form or system of examination; that "not one of the licensed engineers examined by the jurors could answer the question how to ascertain the amount of steam in a boiler if for any reason such boiler had no steam-gauge," but that in several instances they admitted that they had "not got the education to figure it out"; that in the allowance of certificates to officers other than engineers "more consideration is given to the question of the applicant's availability

for a 'special place' than to his general qualifications"; that the requirements of the law with regard to inspection "are not observed to any reasonable degree of accuracy or honest fulfilment"; that in many instances steam-vessels granted certificates are "absolutely unfit" for use; that vessels only fit for river navigation are permitted to carry thousands of excursionists miles out to sea; that the life-boats, floats, and preservers are in many cases insufficient in number, inconveniently placed, and in an unsafe condition; that no instance has been brought to the jury's attention of any drill or test being resorted to; that the annual examination required by law is grossly neglected, and that the *Seawanhaka* accident was directly caused by the licensing of incompetent officers, and the worthless system of inspection and equipment. They recommend the appointment of a "learned commission," and a thorough and complete revision of the laws. It does not need either learning or commissions, however, to tell us what is the trouble with the inspection.

Turkey had been allowed three weeks to put the Montenegrins in possession of Dulcigno, and at first signified her intention to do it within a still shorter period, and has despatched troops for that purpose, but still asks for a little delay. There is a general expectation, however, that she really means to keep her promise, but the difficulty has been suddenly increased by the Albanian declaration of independence. Pending the settlement of the Montenegrin difficulty, the Greek question is lying in abeyance, and it seems to be doubtful what will next be done about it. The French Government, supported with rather unusual unanimity by the French press, is said to decline joining in any coercive measures against Turkey on behalf of Greece, doubtless to Mr. Gladstone's great disappointment and chagrin. The *Temps* justifies this by alleging that France sought, at the Berlin Conference, to have the new Greek frontier line imposed on Turkey peremptorily as part of the requirements of the Treaty; but the matter was left open owing to the opposition of Lord Beaconsfield, and now that England has suddenly changed her Minister and her policy, France is not going to involve herself in war and precipitate the break-up of Turkey to satisfy Mr. Gladstone's "religious ideas and his love for the sons of Homer." Mr. Gladstone will now have to get help from some other quarter or else act alone, as Russia did. There is much reason to believe that this fear of precipitating a Turkish break-up will keep Austria and Germany back also, and that, in fact, nobody longs for it but Russia. But the Liberals have gone too far and are too much pledged to carry out the Treaty of Berlin, as against Turkey, to draw back now without most damaging discredit.

On August 11, two days after General Roberts's start for Kandahar, General Stewart withdrew with all his troops from Kabul, "in admirable order," and after "a very satisfactory interview" with Amir Abdurrahman, who came to the city for the purpose, before entering the Bala-Hissar in state. General Stewart's army was expected to reach Gandamak about the 17th, and thence, after a short halt, to proceed to and beyond "the scientific frontier," both military and political reasons demanding a complete evacuation of Kabulistan. General Roberts, marching in an opposite direction, made a good advance on the first day, and, as the country around him was quiet, he ought by this time to have reached and passed Ghazni. The longest and probably the most difficult stretch in his road is between Ghazni and Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The former city, after opening its gates to his still fresh force, may rise in arms after his turning his back on it. The country around Kelat-i-Ghilzai was undisturbed as late as the 12th, and its British garrison was abundantly supplied and in a condition to aid General Roberts with provisions. The news from Kandahar is even of later date, but less favorable and apparently less authentic. According to one report, Ayub Khan has begun the siege of that city in earnest, and "a heavy and continuous fire is kept up on both sides." General Phayre's advance is still delayed, and the regions adjoining his own base, Quettah, are, like the surroundings of Kandahar and of Chaman-Choki, beyond which he does not venture to march, scenes of skirmishes between British detached posts and aggressive natives. The hostile area is evidently extending.

THE WHITE SIDE OF THE SOUTHERN QUESTION.

THERE did not appear, at the late Republican conference in this city, to be much disposition among leading Republicans to go to the South to speak during the present canvass, and there is evidently a very strong disposition among many of them to rely on the old plan of "firing the Northern heart" by memories of the war, and by opposing a "Solid North" to a "Solid South." Mr. Wheeler, the Vice-President, whose voice is seldom or never heard in politics on any other subject, opened the campaign the other day in Vermont exactly as he opened it in 1876, by painting the Democrats as public enemies, of the same class as those who fought at Gettysburg, and their attempt to elect a President as a virtual continuation of that battle, to be met in the same spirit if not with the same weapons. Mr. Blaine is, thus far, the only speaker of note who has departed from this line, and addressed himself to economical topics. When Mr. Conkling takes the field, if he takes it at all, we may be sure we shall have the war view of the nature of the contest presented with the lurid rhetoric of which he is so great a master. If the Democrats are in truth a Mexican and not an American party—that is, a party seeking possession of the Government for the purpose of overthrowing it and plundering the Treasury, and not a party seeking possession of it in order to administer it constitutionally under the influence of different ideas—there is, of course, no use in sending orators to the South. It would be as absurd to do so as it would have been to send them into Lee's camp to argue him into disbanding his forces and going home. On this view, the one duty of the hour is to lash the Northern people into fury and distrust; or, in other words, to render them as impervious and indifferent as possible to what the Southern whites have to say for themselves. The first duty of a citizen in time of war is to turn a deaf ear to the enemy except when he cries for quarter, and quarter is only to be given to him when he agrees to stop disputing and accept the victor's terms.

This is, however, very distinctly the Mexican mode of conducting political campaigns; but the Mexicans conduct them in a much more rational manner than we do. As soon as a nomination is made the Mexican politician, instead of mounting a stump and denouncing his opponents as traitors and rebels who are beyond the reach of persuasion and deserve killing, gets his musket ready and begins to raise troops and drill them, and as soon as he sees a voter of the other side takes a shot at him. In order to provide funds for the campaign, instead of assessing the office-holders and sending out circulars asking for contributions from the faithful, he seizes the horses and cows and loose cash of the enemy and converts them into the sinews of war. He is right in this. With his view of the designs of the opposition he would act not only imprudently but absurdly in letting its voters come to the polls at all. The voting of men who mean to destroy the Government if they get a majority ought not to be permitted by any man who loves his country and thinks he has the preponderance of physical force on his side. If the Democrats in supporting Hancock are really engaged now in the same enterprise in which the South was engaged during the civil war, and are, as Mr. Wheeler says, for all practical purposes the same men who attacked the Cemetery at Gettysburg, it will be a very foolish thing to go through the forms of an election in November. If, however, it be thought better, on the whole, to hold the election, on the chance of their being beaten at the polls, the chance of their winning ought to be provided for, and the time now passed in holding meetings and distributing documents should be given to the raising and drilling of regiments and to collecting military stores.

The Conference, however, did not adopt the pessimistic view of the situation, and a resolution was passed requesting the National Committee to supply speakers for the South as far as practicable. We sincerely trust the Committee will be able to give effect to this resolution, and will take pains to do so. If it can send down leading and well-known speakers—that is, men who are known at the South to be influential in the Republican party—it will be a very important step, even if no immediate results from it are perceptible. It will be the first formal recognition by the Republican party that there is such a thing at the South as a White question. Hitherto the Southern question has been treated by the organs of the party, whether newspapers or speakers, as if it were simply and solely a Black question, whereas it is

a combination of two questions, one black and the other white. The whites are more numerous than the blacks, and more energetic and able, and are far more potent for good or evil. The peace and prosperity of the South depend far more on their state of mind than they do on that of the blacks. In fact, to convince them, or win them over to Northern views of politics and manners, is to pacify the South permanently and to make an immense addition to the well-being of the whole Union, and nothing short of this will suffice. There has been, so far as we know, no public and conspicuous recognition whatever of this fact by the Republican party. All, or almost all, of its references to the Southern whites for the last fifteen years have been made in taunt or defiance, or in demands for degrading submission, like Mr. Charles Foster's complaint that the Southern members of Congress had made no public admission of their guilt in going to war. In nearly every Republican platform it has been, during all that period, the fashion to assume the *conscious* criminality of the 100,000 Southern whites who died on the battle-field, and of the survivors who sacrificed almost everything that they had in the world, except life, in the same cause. It has also been the fashion to assume that a Southern white ought not to have prejudices, or passions, or bitter memories, or foolish hopes; ought not to be ignorant, or stubborn, or turbulent—or, in fact, in any way different from a Massachusetts or Vermont white. It has been assumed, too, and is assumed to-day, in most discussions of the Southern reluctance to let negroes vote, that the question of negro suffrage is just as simple and as soluble for the South-Carolinian or Mississippian as for the New-Yorker—that is, that it is simply a question of abstract justice. The fact is that it is in some States a question whether the State government shall remain in the hands of the class which possesses nearly all the property and most of the intelligence and political sense of the community, or shall pass into the hands of a class without property, without education, and without a single political habit or tradition.

We are not now defending or attempting to defend the Southern method of solving the question. We are simply stating its real character, which Republican speakers and writers are apt to ignore; and yet we firmly believe that nothing has done more than this ignoring to keep up Southern resistance to Northern ideas. Southern whites are human like the rest of us. Providence has not created in those parts a new and peculiar human being, such as has hitherto been unknown in history. There is no Northern man who would not be exasperated by a counsellor who, in reproaching the smallness of his charitable donation, refused to hear what was the amount of his income, and insisted on assuming that it was a large one like his own. The conversion of the Southern whites to the ways and ideas of what is called the industrial stage in social progress, which is really what has to be done to make the South peaceful, is not a more formidable task than that which the anti-slavery men had before them fifty years ago in seeking to turn Northern opinion against "the peculiar institution." The intolerance to be encountered is no greater, while the natural forces which are aiding the change are much more powerful. But it must be effected, as that change was effected, by much speaking, not to the faithful but to the heathen, and by the kind of speaking which persuades men and not that which exasperates them. No good will ever be done, for instance, by telling Southerners that it is just as easy for them to accept negro suffrage as for Northerners to accept it, or that their first duty is to forget the dead who died at their bidding, or by asking them to admit, even for the sake of argument, their own moral inferiority and perversity. In short, the art of persuasion is just the same at the South as in other countries. To practise it successfully the prejudices, ignorances, and weaknesses of audiences have to be taken into account.

There is one other consideration which must not be overlooked. The South, in the structure of its society, in its manners and social traditions, differs nearly as much from the North as Ireland does, or Hungary, or Turkey. It has in common with the North religion, law, and language, which are very important, undoubtedly, as a basis to argue upon, but they are only a basis. They do not enable a man who has never been in the South or has never associated with the people to understand the real difficulties of the Southern problem now. There is no American of fair education who would not be ashamed to give himself

up for many years to declamation about Ireland, Hungary, or Turkey, and offer confidently to legislate for these countries and supply a complete cure for their respective evils, without ever visiting them or having anything but a superficial literary knowledge of them. And yet this, or something like it, is what most of the prominent Republican politicians have been doing with regard to the South for the last fifteen years. There is hardly one of them who has gone into that region since the war, except as a "Visiting Statesman" to brace up the Returning Boards; they have viewed the land from afar, through a very thick mist of misinformation, prejudice, and passion. Nothing would do more to give the party temper a more constructive and statesmanlike turn than a personal examination of the ground on which the phenomena to which they give so much of their attention actually take place. And nothing, as it seems to us, would do so much to win the Southern whites to a more sober and rational view of their situation than a fair opportunity of telling leading Northerners on the spot why they have such a dread of negro majorities, and of conferring with them as to the means of robbing these majorities of their terrors. Anyhow, one thing is certain—that a Solid North is no cure for a Solid South. You might as well say that hate would cure hate, or the vendetta put down murder. Any man who preaches it as a statesman's remedy preaches perennial bitterness.

AN AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK.

THE recently published report of Messrs. C. S. Read and Albert Pell, who were sent by the Royal Agricultural Commission to enquire into the condition of agriculture in the United States and Canada with reference to its prospective influence upon British farming, is of course of interest to Americans. The report asserts that settlement of our free lands and the termination of the free ranges, by means of which millions of cattle and sheep are grown so cheaply, will increase the cost of production and consequently raise prices, which will be further enhanced by the increase in population, and therefore that the contest for agricultural supremacy will not result wholly in our favor: self-evident conclusions, but so simple that Americans have not thought of them, and of great importance to two nations. Free lands, cheap production and transportation, and favoring seasons here; high rents, oppressive taxation, and bad weather there, have combined to produce an agitation in the United Kingdom that bids fair to end in a land revolution, involving radical changes in the social system and in the methods of English agriculture. The British farmer prospered by reason of a dense population engaged in profitable manufacturing and commerce, the absence of injurious competition, and high prices for meat and wheat; American competition has made these products unprofitable, and they must give way to other crops; but farmers change slowly, and the interim is black with uncertainty—tempered, however, with the certainty of the repeal of obnoxious laws by the Liberal Government.

Though gathering momentum from the beginning, the great progress of this country has taken place within the past twenty years, owing to the rapid settlement and cultivation of Western lands, and we have been going on as if there were to be no exhaustion of the impelling force. The Government Land-Office supplies few facts for a careful analysis of the land question, but we can sift out enough for our purpose. The public domain in the "land States" comprised 1,814,788,922 acres; of this amount 734,591,236 acres had been surveyed and presumably disposed of up to June 30, 1879. Deducting also the Territory of Alaska, the unsurveyed desert territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Utah, Indian Territory, and the public lands in Florida and Louisiana, we have left about 500,000,000 acres in the desirable Northwest region; but from this we must again subtract the millions of acres of forest, mountain, swamp, desert, isolated flat prairie, water-courses, and sterile land, which as a free gift even would be a poor investment; also the many thousand unsurveyed "claims" of the pioneers. What remains of good land is now being disposed of at the rate of nearly ten million acres per year, and in an increasing ratio. In travelling through the Territories one sees the pioneer close to and among the foot-hills of the Rocky Mountains. Where five years ago buffaloes stopped the railroad-trains, now are seen grazing cattle and fields of wheat. The man who went on to the frontier five years ago

now has a vanguard several hundred miles in advance of his ranch. The picket-lines of the approaching armies of settlers from the East and from the Pacific have met in the middle belt in Colorado and Utah, and the vast territories to the northward are being rapidly overrun by the conquerors. The graziers on the free ranges in New Mexico, Colorado, and the Northern Territories already complain of being crowded, and many of them are acquiring and fencing in large tracts for pasture, which is a virtual abandonment of the free-grazing system. At the present rate of settlement the desirable free "homestead" lands will probably all be occupied before this decade has ended. There will still be many million acres of good land in the market at low prices, for, unfortunately, the railroads possess a large portion of the best lands in the Northwest; but even ten or five dollars per acre is very different from a free range over thousands of acres, and the land will necessarily more rapidly increase in value after the free lands are disposed of. Then there will be a corresponding advance in the cost of production. It matters little, under the free-range system, that a bullock requires several acres to graze upon, but on purchased land it is a factor which demands a different system of management and more capital in the business.

Increased cost of production in a great producing country, of course, means expansion of prices in the markets of the world. What this increase will be it is impossible to state, for there are other agencies at work to determine the result. Australia is becoming prominent as a food-producing country, and her position will be enhanced by the better facilities for transporting dead meat which are sure to be discovered soon; her wheat now commands a higher price in London than does American. Southern Russia contains vast tracts of as fertile soil as Kansas can boast, and steps are being taken for its development. India now sends wheat of superior quality to English markets, and her minister of agriculture reports her resources in this line as very great. What position the Continent of Africa, now being opened, is to hold in the world's markets is an important but unknown element in the equation; her immediate influence will be slight.

That our soil products will be greatly augmented as more land is tilled and better systems of culture are adopted may be safely affirmed; but it may be assumed, also, that the increase in amount will in the future, more nearly than in the past, keep pace with the growth of population. Then we shall have, proportionately, a smaller surplus to export. With less to sell abroad, and that at higher prices, our influence in foreign markets would cease to be the evil genius of British and Continental farmers. But even though we lose our agricultural supremacy abroad, the present outlook is that American agriculture will progress quite as rapidly henceforth as it has thus far done. Similar influences operated thus in England up to a few years ago, when the great tide of American competition poured into her markets, reducing prices without a corresponding rebate in the cost of production. The older States will suffer less from Western competition as the cheap lands become more valuable and home consumption increases with the growth of population in the sparsely settled districts. Western farmers will adopt more systematic and scientific and economical methods. Farmers generally will be obliged to use more working capital, which they will be enabled to do by reason of higher prices, and the facilities which will be forthcoming for the readier borrowing of capital on real-estate security. Business principles, with something of the system of manufacturing establishments, will continue to be applied in an increasing ratio. Crops will become more localized. It is rapidly being determined what products are best adapted to particular sections. East, West, and South may compete less with each other. Such products as blooded cattle, horses and sheep; poultry, milk, small fruits and garden crops; tannin-producing, fibrous and other plants used in manufacturing, may become the profitable specialties of the thickly populated districts; cereals, meat, cotton, wool, sugar, etc., of the broader fields and pastures. The sugar-beet rejuvenated the agriculture of Germany and France; the development of the industry for the production of sugar from beet-root and from sorghum is making rapid strides here, and, as we showed a few weeks ago, bids fair to save a large portion of the hundred million dollars now sent out of the country annually for sweetening. Other special crops, among them tea and coffee probably, will assist our agricultural progress. With greater

prospective emoluments we may expect that many able young men who now seek commerce and the professions will become farmers, which, with the slowly growing army of educated agriculturists, will tend to elevate the calling to the degree of dignity which it has attained in England and Saxony.

VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

THAT singing is one of those arts which the present generation is rapidly losing, is an opinion so often expressed by critics and amateurs that it seems worth while to examine how much truth there is in it. One thing certainly is true: the great age of song has passed away with the musical supremacy of Italy, and been replaced by the instrumental age, with Germany as a centre. And the causes of this change are, in the main, these: insufficient vocal training, the decline of the Italian opera, and the many advantages of instrumental over vocal music. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries schools of song flourished in Rome, Florence, Naples, and other Italian cities compared with which most of our modern conservatories are mere kindergartens. The average young American lady who dreams of cultivating her voice by taking a few lessons a week for a term or two at a music-school, might well heed the account given by Bontempi of the training given to pupils at the papal chapel about the middle of the seventeenth century. One hour a day was devoted to the singing of difficult passages, a second to the practice of the trill, a third to pure intonation—all in presence of the teacher, and with the help of a mirror, to avoid grimaces and observe the motion of tongue and mouth. Besides these, several hours were devoted to the study of expression and literature, several more to practice on the piano, composition, and the theory of music; and frequent opportunity was given to sing in church, while the Monte Mario was visited in order that the pupils might hear the echo of their voices and thereby study their own faults. After such training, and assisted by a climate most favorable to the human voice, one can hardly wonder so much at the feats said to have been performed by many of the *prime donne* and male *soprani* of the time. One of the latter could execute in one breath a chain of trills including every note through two chromatic octaves and back again. Another was rewarded by no less than five minutes' applause for the way in which he gradually swelled one note of an aria to the utmost capacity of his lungs and then as gradually returned to the scarcely-audible beginning. He then began to sing so rapidly that the band could hardly keep pace with him! When he was only seven years of age he had completely routed a celebrated trumpeter in Rome in a contest the aim of which was to see which of the two could hold out the longest on a note, pile the greatest number of trills on top of each other, and the like.

Such stories clearly show the prevailing taste of the time. People went to a musical entertainment very much as to a circus, not for artistic enjoyment but to behold a display of carefully-practised tricks. Sensuous beauty and agility of the voice outweighed all other considerations, such as the artistic value of the piece performed or histrionic talent. The composers, accordingly, were mere assistants whose duty it was to furnish a background on which a vocalist could paint his roulades, trills, and other fancy-work. In course of time a change was effected, in so far as the art of embellishing a melody was no longer left to the singer, but was prescribed for him by the composer himself. This period culminated in Rossini and Meyerbeer, whose chief aim in life was to observe what impression certain vocal tricks, such as very high notes and rapid passages, made on the crowd, and then to utilize them at every favorable opportunity, especially at the close of a scene, so as to secure applause and an encore. Rossini has now almost entirely disappeared from the stage, but Meyerbeer, owing to a shadow of dramatic talent which he doubtless did possess, is still popular, if not with people of refined musical taste, yet with those who think it their duty to be "cosmopolitan," and with the crowd of semi-musical people who in all large cities form the majority of an operatic audience. The only full-blooded representative of the old prima-donna type for whom this sort of music was written now living is Madame Patti, although even she has been obliged to yield to altered taste, in so far as she may no longer with impunity alter the notes of melodies contained in her rôles. The sensuous charm of Patti's voice is so great that she not only throws the crowd into convulsions of enthusiasm, but even leads sober critics to ascribe to her characteristics which we have found it difficult to discover in her. What is said of her skill as an actress and her fine mimic display seems in itself doubtful, since she hardly ever appears in a rôle that calls for any of these qualities. When she does appear in a work that has a real dramatic plot her weakness is fully exposed to light. Almost any second-rate prima-donna at a German opera-house gives a more correct notion of the genuine *Gretchen* one expects to see in "Faust" than Patti. It is positively painful to see her parodying the simple, modest German girl in the scene where *Faust* offers to escort her home, by appearing in a long, trailing silk robe, just from Paris, and strutting across the stage with the proud air of an offended peacock.

But it is useless to try to make an old-fashioned prima donna in her gigantic self-conceit understand that the first aim of a dramatic singer should be to merge her personality in the part assumed, just as a novelist must of all things beware of intruding his personality on the reader. Patti reminds one of an artist who would insist on painting his own figure in the foreground of every picture he makes. Every tone, every gesture of hers plainly says to the audience: "Behold and hear the great Patti, the adored of all adorners. What would this music be without Patti to sing it?" Such an attitude, combined with sensuous beauty of voice, is sure to impose on the public and bring down the house, because the people of taste who look for something else have always been in a minority. And this enables us to understand why in the days of the famous Italian singers audiences were habitually thrown into such states of wild excitement, compared with which the scant and artificial applause in modern theatres might seem a mere "damning with faint praise." Southern excitability has to be taken into account here; but the main difference lies in the fact that the æsthetic pitch, so to say, has since been considerably raised, and, while more art is expected of a singer than was formerly the case, the growth of emotional culture has tended to repress the extravagant expression of feeling by applause. Although mere beauty of voice and fine personal appearance will still draw a full and enthusiastic audience in very large cities, like London, Paris, and Berlin, where a house can be entirely filled with people belonging to an earlier stage of musical culture, there is at least one city in Europe where these qualities no longer suffice. Patti's complete fiasco in Munich last winter was an event no less intelligible than significant for the future. It is a well-known fact that no vocalist now stands a chance of securing an engagement in a German theatre unless he combines with a good voice a considerable amount of histrionic talent. Niemann, Betz, Vogel, Materna, Brandt, Wekerlin are the leading German vocalists belonging to the class of "fixed stars," and they are all of them Wagner-singers *par excellence*—i. e., vocalist-actors. It must be admitted that the sensuous beauty of these voices is not comparable to that of the Italians. But a musician does not look for sensuous beauty of tone alone; he would rather have less of it and more expression, more dramatic art. And what we have lost in sensuous beauty of voice is a hundred times atoned for by the quality of the works performed and by the brilliant sensuous colors the orchestra adds to the vocal parts by its symphonic accompaniment.

The extinction of the old species of vocalists need not, therefore, inspire us with despondent thoughts as to the future of the vocal art. A new species is gradually coming into existence better adapted to present circumstances. But there is another apparent enemy to song whose inroads may seem of a more dangerous nature. Since the days of Beethoven instrumental music has been gaining more and more ground on vocal, so that the predilection of artists for the former might naturally raise a doubt as to whether the general notion that vocal music is the highest branch of the art is quite correct. A smooth and well-trained voice indeed has more elementary beauty and is capable of more intense and varied expression than any instrument, the nearest approach to the voice being in the case of the 'cello and horn. But such a voice is scarcely ever to be heard, while good instruments are abundant enough. Again, while an orchestra that can play a difficult composition in perfect time and tune is not an uncommon spectacle, at least in Europe, we have heard few choruses that could, unaided by an orchestra, do the same without flattening half-a-tone or more, and the same is true of individuals. Of course it must not be overlooked here that while the members of an orchestra are almost always professional artists, who devote all their time to their art, choral societies are usually composed of amateurs of all professions, who perhaps seldom sing a note except when they meet for a rehearsal. This, combined with previous insufficient training, accounts for the inferiority of vocal performances. Still more has instrumental music gained over vocal by the fact that its resources are so much greater. A whole evening of pure vocal music is apt to become monotonous, because, even in a mixed chorus of male and female voices, the variety of clang-tints or tone-colors is quite limited; and the modern ear requires a variety in this respect which only a full band with its infinite possibilities of combinations can satisfy. A vocal concert bears the same relation to an instrumental as the unchanging blue sky of a summer day does to the gorgeous hues of a fine sunset. The compass, too, of the human voice is very limited, and its powers of executing difficult and rapid passages still more so. No wonder, therefore, that musical Titans like Beethoven, seeing that the voice did not suffice (in this sense) for the expression of their glowing and varied thoughts, gave the preference to the many-tongued orchestra, whose resources are not so readily exhausted.

It may well be questioned whether vocal music will ever recover its lost supremacy. In this country the unfavorable climate offers another obstacle to the growth of this art which probably the most judicious training and constant practice can never entirely overcome. The harsh and disagreeable voices of our beautiful American women are proverbial, and a source of constant surprise and dismay to admiring foreigners. In our colleges, where young men from all regions and classes congregate, a good tenor voice is so great a rarity that a glee club is frequently brought to the brink of dissolution

simply for lack of it. All this seems to hint at the advisability of our paying especial attention to instrumental music in this country rather than to vocal. The great interest taken in some of our larger cities in the latest works of German instrumental composers is in part, no doubt, matter of fashion, and partly also owing to the exotic charms of the new and pleasing tone-color effects heard in them. But much is due to genuine admiration and intelligent appreciation, so that, all things considered, we are inclined to think that the future musical development of America will lie chiefly in the direction of instrumental compositions and concerts.

ROCHEFORT AND GAMBETTA.

PARIS, July 28, 1880.

OUR beautiful national fête of the 14th of July has been but a day's truce to party contention, which was renewed on the morrow with fresh ardor. First of all, the fête itself was the subject of the liveliest and most adverse criticism from the enemies of the Republic. I never better understood to what a degree party spirit disposes men to see things through colored glasses, sometimes black, sometimes rose-tinted. On this occasion the Royalist spectacles were of the deepest black. Although this entirely popular fête passed off brilliantly, untroubled by any vexatious incident, thanks to the spontaneous co-operation of our citizens, it has been depicted in the Clerical and Bonapartist newspapers either as a frigid official ceremony or as a saturnalia. The journals of the embittered Orleanists went so far as to say that Paris that day had given herself up to one of those orgies which prepared the massacre of the hostages. When contemporary facts witnessed by more than a million of people are falsified in this way, we can easily understand the difficulty there is in verifying the testimony of historians about past events. If the interest of any person leads him to believe that two and two are five, or that it is night at noon, he will think that it is so, whatever may be shown to the contrary.

It is not, however, the Royalist contention which has made the most noise lately; that party vented all its wrath when the first of the 29th of March decrees was executed against the Jesuits, whose appeal is pending before the tribunals, and will be brought before the "tribunal des conflits," a special court, called on to decide if such or such an act of a Government agent has been accomplished in conformity with the instruction of his superiors in the administrative hierarchy as to enforcing the laws of the country, or if he is personally responsible for violence committed. In the first case the "tribunal des conflits" will decide that the agent is not responsible and cannot be prosecuted. It is the Government itself which ought to be sued, and that can only be done in parliament, the only power able to modify the law when it has been executed. In the second case a suit can be brought against a Government agent as a private individual for having exceeded his instructions. The "tribunal des conflits," then, will have to determine whether the police commissaries who expelled the Jesuits from their houses have executed the laws of the land or have committed an illegal act. In consequence of the law-court vacations it is not probable that this serious affair will be decided before the autumn, and it appears certain that the Government will wait for the decision before proceeding to execute the second decrees of the 29th of March last, according to which the non-recognized congregations, other than the Jesuits, will not be expelled unless they refuse to ask for authorization by communicating their statutes to the Government. As yet they have persisted in their refusal, upon the ground that in their opinion the laws put in force against them no longer exist. For my part, I ardently hope the Government, before judgment is pronounced by the "tribunal des conflits," will prepare a law on the right of association, which will enable them to sanction such recognized fraternities as have nothing in their statutes contrary to the laws of the country. It cannot be denied that the expulsion of five hundred religious orders, among which are four hundred for women, from their houses will cause dangerous agitation, and will excite religious passions in the highest degree, to the great detriment of public peace and the consolidation of our present institutions.

As I have said, it is not just now the Royalist party who are making the most noise; it is the extreme Radical party, whose hero and chief is the celebrated Rochefort. Since the amnesty he has returned to Paris, where he was welcomed with a frenzied ovation; the mob all but harnessed themselves to his cab. Not a day passes without his presiding over some club, by which he is always enthusiastically greeted. When he arrived he immediately published a morning paper entitled *L'Intransigeant* ("The Non-compromiser"), in which he overwhelms M. Gambetta with sarcasm, accusing him of being the personification of opportunism—that is to say, of the policy which does not seek to realize at once the democratic programme, deeming it wiser to effect reforms gradually and opportunely. It is truly strange to see any political party taking inopportune as a principle of conduct, for until now it had been considered as the surest means of miscarriage for any project of reform. Moreover, the difference between M. Gambetta's party and extreme radicalism rests not only upon the haste needed in carrying out reforms;

they differ as to the reforms themselves. M. Gambetta's programme is that of the great majority of Republicans; it is reasonable and aims at progress in all things, but without attacking the fundamental laws of society. The programme of M. Rochefort and his "uncompromising" followers is one of socialistic demagogues, with nothing precise about it, and this very vagueness opens the door to all sorts of folly. His first article was on the rehabilitation of the detestable Commune insurrection of 1871. This is the good news M. Rochefort preaches in our faubourgs, more by his incisive writing than by his speech, for he is no orator, and before a crowd he can only stammer. He is none the less applauded, however.

Whence comes this strange popularity? It arises from two causes—first, from the mortal blows Rochefort dealt Napoleon III., then at the height of his power, in the famous pamphlet *La Lanterne*, and subsequently to the aureole of the proscribed bold fugitive from New Caledonia. The people of the faubourgs do not enquire whether this proscription was not in its day the just condemnation of the courtier of the Commune, who excited it in his journal to every excess which did not involve the effusion of blood. It must also be acknowledged that Rochefort pleases the workmen of our faubourgs by a certain personal similarity of character. This descendant of the Comtes de Rochefort, aristocratic in his tastes and habits, is by the nature of his intellect a real Parisian gamin; he has their inexhaustible buffoonery, sportive spirit, broad sayings, and impertinent mockery. He produces the effect of a real clown amusing a theatre by his gambols and grimaces. He has thus become, as formerly the Duc de Beaufort during the Fronde, king of the Halles. He will not long remain so, for this kind of work soon uses a man up. Moreover, he has not the strength to contend against Gambetta, as we shall soon see when the lion shakes his mane and sends forth a powerful roar. The French people are too intelligent to approve for long of the great tribune, who personified patriotism during the war, being compared to the perjurer of the 2d of December and the vanquished of Sedan. Rochefort can only hope to please the excessive radicals, but to continue in that vein he must always be ahead of them. Now, in this steeple-chase of revolutionary folly one is certain to be surpassed. At the very moment Rochefort and his friends believed themselves in the vanguard a Communist congress was held at Paris to excommunicate them as vile citizens and unworthy confederates. It is true that one of the programmes unfolded at this congress consisted of but two articles: first, petroleum; second, nitrate of potassium. All these insanities, by being circulated in theory, have the effect of destroying each other. The present moderately republican government having done everything this year to further the material interests of the country, which was never more prosperous, and to reform and ameliorate all branches of public instruction, can present itself fearlessly before the electors of the Councils-General, now about to meet, and will no doubt receive from them a signal confirmation of their policy. É.

GERMANY AND THE POPE.—I.

BERLIN, July, 1880.

WITH the adjournment of the Prussian Diet and the closing of the Berlin Conference we have entered upon our dull season. Court and courtiers, cabinet ministers and deputies, privy councillors and judges, all have shaken off the dust of the capital and retreated to the sea and the mountains to gather strength for the recommencement of their up-hill work in the fall.

While the success of the diplomatic achievements depends on their acceptance by Turkey, which at present is more than doubtful, the meeting of the foreign diplomatists is already forgotten, as if it had taken place years ago; but the new bill, popularly known as the Canossa Bill, which became a law on July 14, still stands in the foreground of public interest and debate. Instead of finding a quiet corner in the statute-book, it is now argued about and reviewed by all political parties. Although the original draft of the bill was so much amended that in its present shape it is nearly harmless, the circumstances under and views with which it was submitted to the Diet mark an important epoch in our political history. This law was a great political blunder. At a moment when all the resources of our bitterest foe had been exhausted, when France and Belgium appeared on the scene to join us in the battle, it stopped the struggle with Rome, and offered a peace which had been disdainfully rejected by the same adversary for whose benefit it is alleged to have been proposed. Bismarck, it is true, has not yet "gone to Canossa," but he has taken the train for that station. In one word, we are parting with a policy which, when initiated in 1872, was hailed by the great majority of the nation as the harbinger of Germany's firm and final resolution to have done once for all with Roman arrogance, usurpation, and encroachment upon the sovereignty of the Empire.

Several influences have brought about this change. They can partly be traced to court circles. The Emperor is growing older and weaker in mind. His wife, who has always been a fierce opponent of Falk's manly attitude towards Rome, has lately acquired greater influence over her husband. The old gentleman wishes to die in peace with all his subjects, and particularly

cherishes the idea of celebrating the completion of the Cologne Cathedral this fall with all the royal and clerical paraphernalia—the archbishop, of course, included. This archbishop, however, for disobedience to the laws, has been sentenced to be deposed, and has taken refuge in Holland. He, therefore, must be recalled and re-established to enable him to assist officially at the festivities. Personal considerations, however, would not amount to much if they did not meet Bismarck's policy half-way, who, as always, is also in this matter the moving and leading spirit. The motives which he gave for bringing in this bill were, in the first place, to fill about a thousand vacancies created by the former removal and deposition of disobedient ministers, parsons, and curates, and thus do away with a state of distress deeply felt by the Catholic population; and, secondly, to prove to the Pope by deeds his conciliatory spirit. In fact, however, Bismarck either wanted to annihilate or to win over to himself the Ultramontanes of the German Reichstag and Prussian Diet. Since the summer of 1878, when he first instituted his protective policy, he has been looking out for a parliamentary party strong enough to carry through his measures. Having abandoned the Liberals he had to rely on the alliance of the Conservatives and the clericals. The latter, by forcing through the Reichstag the Chancellor's tariff bill, had proved a very useful tool in his hands, but they refused to follow his banner indiscriminately, and asked to be rewarded for their services. Bismarck, however, did not see fit to comply with their demands, and bitterly attacked them in the Reichstag. This time he changed his tactics and tried to catch them by holding out the prospect of burying the *Kulturkampf*, which, had he succeeded, would, of course, have given him more strength at home and abroad; but Rome and its German followers did not swallow the bait.

The history of the transaction can be given in a few words: Leo XIII., in a letter addressed (February 24) to the deposed Archbishop of Cologne, had declared that, although he could not acquiesce in the Prussian laws, he was willing to tolerate at least some of their provisions—for instance, to allow the bishops to comply with the one duty imposed upon them by our Government, viz., to report the names of candidates for clerical appointments (*Anzeige-Pflicht*). The Pope could the sooner submit to this portion of the Prussian law as in smaller German states—for instance, in Oldenburg, Würtemberg, and others—he had never objected to and still practically acknowledges it. When, however, on March 17, 1880, the Prussian Cabinet solemnly declared that, provided Leo would bind himself to instruct the Prussian bishops to inform the Government of their appointees, it would moderate the Falk Laws, the Pope at first hung back and at last haughtily rejected this demand. Nevertheless, on May 19, the Prussian Government introduced its so-called Canossa Bill in the Diet, thus sacrificing the essential principles of the legislation of 1873, while the Pope, by withdrawing his private assent, declared that the Curia would have nothing to do with the Falk laws, and threatened any Catholic deputy who should vote for the Government with major excommunication. In ordinary life, the man who gives up the claims on the strength of which he opened hostilities, and pleads for peace, is considered as having succumbed and been beaten. Here the whole Protestant world looked at the question from the same point of view, and, with the exception, perhaps, of a few state officials, could not understand why the Government yielded to a Pope who not only rejected its offers but also insisted on the maintenance of his old ground. Every independent man wanted to have the Catholic clergy unconditionally subjected to the laws of the country before negotiations should be entered into, and this was the right way to look at the question.

The Diet struck out the most obnoxious features of the bill and did much to make the defeat of the Government appear less overwhelming; but it was rather the introduction of the bill itself at the present time than the several provisions of the bill which constituted the Government's defeat. The law was finally adopted by only 206 against 202 votes. The majority consisted of the Conservatives of all shades and 49 National-Liberals, while the minority was represented by the undivided Progress party, the whole Centre, and 44 National-Liberals. The latter, therefore, who in the beginning denounced the bill as outrageous, are responsible for its passage. The National-Liberal party, which under Twisten, Forckenbeck, Lasker, Braun, Bamberger, and others for more than fourteen years was the leading parliamentary factor, and to whose influence the country is chiefly indebted for all that is liberal and progressive in the new laws and constitution, has lately, under the leadership of Bennigsen and Miguel, become a too obedient tool of Bismarck. The more he kicks that party the more ardent they become in their devotion and subservency. When the Chancellor introduces a new reactionary measure in open contrast to his former policy they support it, in order, as they say, to deprive the Centre the chance of joining the Conservatives. Thus Bismarck has so far regularly played a double game, and by appealing to the National-Liberals in case of need has always gained his point. This time the party justified its yielding to Bismarck's pressure by the same shallow pretexts of compromise, and even declared that although they did not know where the Government was going to lead them, they would nevertheless follow its wise policy. This piece of masterly logic reminds one of the deputy who, hailing

from some German Bancombe, once said: "I do not know the Government's views and tendencies, and therefore approve of them." It is of no great importance that the National-Liberals have committed suicide, as other and wiser men of less compromising propensities will and must occupy their places, but their great fault is that by pushing a bad law through the House they have only thrown new obstacles in the road to peace.

Practically, even the law may turn out rather innocent, as its principal features are limited to a short period—viz., to January 1, 1882—and as the Roman clergy in their present haughtiness will, like the Centre, scorn to avail themselves of the benefits offered. It is, on the whole, rather irrelevant whether some Catholic orders and associations for nursing the sick shall extend the field of their usefulness, and whether the priests who are regularly appointed shall henceforth be authorized to administer the holy sacraments to the inhabitants of those parishes which by legal sentence have lost their disobedient curates. It is even more correct, and in keeping with the canon law, that bishops and clergymen in future cannot be removed by the Government, but only be declared unfit to occupy any official position, although this article is of no practical value, for the simple reason that such proceedings are no longer pending. The most important concession of the law, therefore, in my eyes, consists in the permission granted to German clergymen to be educated in institutions of learning over which the Prussian Government has no control, and over which the Jesuits preside. The Government even went so far as to dispense with the oath of allegiance on the part of the clergy, and held out to them a prospect of getting their forfeited salary paid before they had acknowledged the supremacy of the laws of the land. The most obnoxious provision of the original bill, however, was article four, which was rejected by a large majority, including part of the Conservatives, and which granted pardon and return of the bishops before they had solemnly asked forgiveness for their past offences, and promised obedience for the future.

The Ultramontanes are, therefore, perfectly right in considering the but partial success of the measure as a defeat of the Government. They are now holding meetings in all the large cities where they command a majority and praising the policy of the Centre, and insisting upon the divine right of the Church, according to which the control of the schools does not belong to the state. The Falk laws, they declare, are shattered to their foundations, and must be totally abolished; and they consider it the duty of the Government to make peace with the Church at once by giving up its worldly presumptions, and by "reinstating the clergy in its old liberties and inalienable rights." Compliance with these demands on the part of the Government would virtually amount to nothing less than absolute surrender. By the introduction of that lamentable law the hopes and claims of the irreconcilable Ultramontane party have reached such a height that they will double their resistance, and that it will daily become more impossible to arrive at a *modus vivendi*.

Bismarck, for the present, if I am not mistaken in his character, will make his defeat the occasion for letting the Ultramontanes feel his anger more than ever before; but against his will influences already make themselves felt which as yet work clandestinely, but will in time publicly appear. It is the ultra-orthodox Protestant and Conservative party which, supported by the powerful assistance of members of court circles, is looking out for an alliance with the Catholic clergy, and is preparing for action behind the scenes. Puttkamer, the present Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, is a man as weak as he is frivolous. To-day a tool in the hands of Bismarck, he will to-morrow execute the orders of the court clique, or try to combine the wishes of both. The other day the *Reichsanzeiger* (the official organ), among new appointments, recorded that a Mr. de la Croix had been given the highest position under Puttkamer. This De la Croix, a mere creature of the "Ober-Kirchenrath," is one of the captains of the campaign which, in the next Reichstag, will be initiated by attacks on the civil-marriage bill, "a work of the devil," as our high-churchmen are wont to characterize it. The death of the Emperor, or some other untoward event, may postpone this clerical scheme, but cannot frustrate the attempt. The German Empire will never be firmly established on a solid foundation until it has defeated the combined efforts of Roman and Protestant ultras. For the last thousand years it has been our sad privilege to fight out the religious struggles of mankind. Since the re-establishment of the Empire we are less than ever willing to surrender to religious conspirators those great intellectual conquests and that political freedom which, emanating from the noblest feelings of human nature, were asserted by the sacrifice of the best blood of the country and of untold treasures. Unfortunately, by Bismarck's rather too shrewd and therefore unsuccessful stratagem, we are, after an eight years' struggle, not at the end, but at a new beginning of the old politico-clerical conflict.

??

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CATHERINE DE MÉDICIS.

PARIS, July 23, 1880.

HISTORY is, in one sense, never written, never definitive. The modern historical school is positivist, in so far as it does not indulge in great theories; it looks into the documents of the time, and especially those docu-

ments which, not having been made for publication, are thought to be the most sincere. I know the method has its defects; the documents which are now thought the most important, the most genuine, are not necessarily infallible. People can lie in writing as they do in speaking. Original documents are necessarily fragmentary, and it is necessary that the historian should not only accumulate fragments, but that he should reconstruct a whole, as a palæontologist reconstructs a lost organic form from fossil remains. How can the palæontologist do so? Because there is a plan in the creation, because nothing in it is quite arbitrary. If you give to the naturalist a part he can safely reconstruct the whole. No fossil is found in New Zealand or in the Rocky Mountains which does not find, as it were, a place all ready for it in this long and gradual succession which marks the development of the same creative form.

It is so with history: the historian can reconstitute a time, a race, a character out of fragmentary documents, a few treaties, letters, anecdotes, genealogical notes; but he can only do so on one condition—he must be a moralist. He must be a great analyzer of human thought, he must have dived into the dark abyss of human depravity. Documents, as mere documents, are nothing; they are like the uncut stones spread over an area before the building is erected. Give us the architect, the man who will take all these stones and suspend them in the air, and unite them in one great, huge, harmonic whole. We are very apt to mistake the means for the end, and there are now in Germany, France, and England men who love documentary history for its own sake, without any regard for the actors of history or the ends of history. This reaction was a necessity. We have had too many systematic histories written without any regard to facts, often with perverted facts, for the amusement of the mind, for the glorification of some religious or political theory. But there is danger also in the mere accumulation of documents if these are never to be worked out, for the human mind would soon grow tired of historical science if it never gave any satisfaction to its profounder instincts. The most pressing duty is to collect all valuable documents; then comes the duty of classifying them and extracting from them something real, something which has some resemblance to life.

Many years ago we began in France a colossal publication of 'Inedited Documents for the History of France.' In this great collection, which is published by the state, and at its expense, there are some volumes which are not very important; some others of the very highest importance. It will be enough to say that the collection comprises all the known correspondence of Henry IV. (ten volumes quarto), and the enormous correspondence of Richelieu (six volumes quarto). Some volumes are on the point of appearing which contain the correspondence of Catherine de Médicis. The correspondence of Mazarin will, I hope, be published some day, but it is so long that I hardly dare say how many volumes it would fill. The correspondence of Catherine de Médicis was entrusted to M. Hector de la Ferrière, who has written a long preface to his great publication accompanying the first volume, which is printed but not yet distributed. Catherine de Médicis, though Italian—of the great family of the Medici—had a Frenchwoman for her mother, Madeleine de la Tour d'Auvergne. The Italian influence was, however, the strongest in the formation of her character. She was educated at Rome, and was a great favorite of Clement VII., who was her uncle. She learned there the art of dissimulation, in which the Italians of the time were the greatest masters. She was admired in her earliest youth for her calmness and dignity, her power over herself and her emotions. She is said to have fallen in love at Rome with her cousin Ippolito de' Medici, the natural son of Giuliano de' Medici, who was very handsome (Titian has left us his portrait); but the Pope had higher views for her, and gave her to the first king in Christendom, the King of France. She was affianced to the second son of Francis I. Her Roman education explains almost all her life; she always remained in communication with the nuns of a convent where she had spent many hours; she had breathed the artistic air of Florence, of Rome, seen or known the greatest artists the world ever saw, had become a Christian of the Renaissance type, of the Medici and Leo X. type—her Catholicism had a tinge of paganism; she was well disposed towards what were called then the novelties in every sense of the word, but Protestantism could not well suit her in its stern and Puritanic form. It has often been said by historians that Catherine was completely indifferent in matters of religion; that she was an unbeliever, a sceptic; that it was the same to her to go to mass or to *aller au préche*; she herself said many things which tended to produce this impression. She was not a theologian, and political necessities as well as personal considerations often inclined her towards some of the Protestant leaders; but instinct is stronger than everything, and after having read many documents of the time, I have no doubt that she remained throughout a Roman, if not a Roman Catholic; that she liked what was called the *old* religion, if she did not much care about its dogmas. She had a strong leaning towards some of the Protestants, not towards Protestantism. The Protestant leaders whom she knew and liked were men like Soubise, the first gentlemen in the country; she was fond of poetry and literature, and in the beginning Marot was on the side of the Protestants as well as the learned bishops of the kingdom.

Catherine was almost a child in years when she arrived in France; but her character was completely formed—she had all the precocity of her race. She was married at Marseilles by Clement VII. himself, who gave the ring to the young couple. The Duchess of Orleans (such became her name) wore a crown so laden with diamonds that it was "worth a kingdom," to use the words of a contemporary. Her pearls were the finest known in the world; she afterwards made a necklace of them, which she gave to Queen Mary Stuart, and they finally came into the possession of Queen Elizabeth. Splendid presents were exchanged at Marseilles, for Francis I. would be surpassed by nobody in generosity. When the dower of Catherine was counted in the hands of the French treasurer-general, "It is larger than it appears," said Philip Strozzi; "you forget three jewels which are added to it: Milan, Genoa, and Naples." Francis I. had his mind always turned toward Italy, and the alliance with the Medici family was a card in his play against the house of Spain. As France did not much like the perpetual wars on the other side of the Alps, the young Italian princess was coldly received by the people. The first years which Catherine spent in France were not happy. She lost her beloved uncle, the pope; she lost her cousin, whom she had loved, who had gone with her as far as Marseilles, and who had proudly refused the presents of Francis I. She was living as a stranger at the French court—very reticent, very silent. Nobody cared much for her except the astute Charles V. "Write to me," says he to his ambassador, "what sort of treatment is shown the Duchess of Orleans; what people she has with her; if they have as much credit and receive as much respect as they did in the time of Pope Clement VII. . . . Write to me all you can hear about her." Charles V. had wished to marry Catherine to Francis Sforza, the Duke of Milan.

The death of the dauphin suddenly justified the curiosity of Charles V., as Catherine was now the future queen of France. She had very carefully put herself in the good graces of the king. Her own husband, who was now the dauphin, neglected her; he was under the influence of the famous Diane de Poitiers. Catherine understood fully the character of Francis. The king was in the habit of being adored; he was like a spoiled child; he had been everything at first to his mother, Louise of Savoy; he was the idol of his sister, Margaret of Angoulême, the most charming and learned princess of her time. Catherine became the intimate of the old king; she amused him with Italian manuscripts, Italian poets; she rode with him, hunted with him. "She never left the king," says Brantôme, her great admirer, "and always could follow him, as she was a very good rider and very bold, and had a good seat, having been the first to put her leg on the saddle" (before her, ladies had what was called a *planchette*). But Catherine had no child, and for many years it was thought that she could give no heir to the crown. Diane de Poitiers even advised the dauphin to repudiate her. Francis, fond as he was of the young Italian princess, had some thoughts of a divorce. After a few years Catherine had her first child, and her position became more assured. From that moment she changed her manner; the old king died, and Catherine became the Queen of France.

She had a rival, and a most insolent rival, in the person of Diane de Poitiers. Diane was, in fact, the real queen; Henry II. could refuse nothing to her. Wherever the court went all eyes were drawn to the famous Diane much more than to Catherine; she received the presents of the cities. At the ceremony of the entrance into Lyons, for instance—Lyons, which owed so much to the Medici, seemed to forget Catherine. A forest was improvised at the gate of the city, and out of it came a Diana with a silver crescent, with a black gown, spread with silver stars, followed by nymphs who held young dogs with leashes of black and white silk, the colors of the king. The fine bindings of Henry II., kept at the National Library, show us everywhere the crescent of Diana; it is seen everywhere on the Louvre. Diane was the acknowledged sovereign. She was in communication with all the courts, with Charles V., with the Pope. Old as she was now, her charm was irresistible. She interested the king in great constructions, in the adornment of Anet. She received enormous sums of money, and the legitimate queen was reduced to a slender portion. We have the accounts of Catherine's expenses, kept with the greatest care. In the year 1558, for instance, the receipts amount to 57,421 livres, the expenses to 59,331; nothing is omitted. Catherine had the expensive tastes of her race, but she could not yet indulge them; she had also the orderly habits of a family of "mercanti."

Henry II. was a good father, if he was not a good husband. Catherine gave him now a child every year, leading the life of a nurse, and her correspondence is full of small medical details about the children. She had no other means for preserving, in a certain degree, the cold affection of the king. She was jealous of her rival, but she shut her eyes. She never acknowledged the Duchess of Valentinois as the mistress of the king. She lived with her in apparent ignorance. "She is wise and prudent," says the Venetian Contarini; "no doubt she is fit to govern." There is no doubt that she hated Diane with a bitter hatred, so much so that afterwards she would not even look at Anet, the place adorned by Diane; but she concealed her

feelings as long as Henry II. lived. Her dissimulation was, so to speak, intense and farseeing. "Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare." If this axiom be true, she was well-prepared to rule when Henry II. fell accidentally in a tournament. What were her sentiments towards Henry? It would be difficult to say. Her manifestations of sorrow when he died were rather too dramatic. She took for her device

"Andorem extinctâ testantur vivere flammâ,"

with a mountain of chalk, on which drops of water fall. Everywhere she had embroidered trophies, broken glasses, broken chains, and so on. These symbols were the fashion of the time. She never left off her mourning, and she had also for device a broken lance, with these words:

"Lacrymæ hinc, hinc dolor."

We must observe her now as a queen, coming to an almost absolute power after years of dissimulation, of a careful study of men and things; with no profound sentiment except her maternal love, which was ardent; selfish in so far as the rule of her children was her own rule; despotic—sincere at the same time, as maternal love always is. She cared not for France; she cared more for the Catholic religion; she cared chiefly for her race and for the race to which she was allied—for the Medici and the Valois.

Correspondence.

THE MOMMSEN TRIBUTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I see with interest, in the letter of one of your correspondents, a proposal to start a subscription to be sent to Professor MommSEN in token of the sympathy of some Americans in his great loss. I am one of those who earnestly hope such a scheme may be carried out, and that in doing so modest sums may not be despised, for those are all that many of us can give.

AN ADMIRER OF LEARNING.

August 13, 1866.

[We will undertake to receive and forward any sums which may be sent for the above purpose to this office.—ED. NATION.]

THE DE GOLYER BUSINESS ONCE MORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your defence of Garfield's De Golyer transaction you lay stress on the assertions that "the money to pay for this work was not to come from appropriations by Congress," that "it seems impossible that it could have been contemplated . . . that appropriations would be asked from Congress," and that "no appropriation by Congress could have been in contemplation." It is very natural that so much stress should be laid on this point in a defence of Garfield, because, *if true*, it is of momentous importance to his case. But is it true? Is it not the fact that all of the De Golyer pavement laid in front of the public buildings (a very important portion of the whole) had to be paid for by an appropriation from Congress, and that such appropriation was afterwards actually made upon the recommendation of Garfield's Appropriation Committee? If this was the case, it would fully account for the exultation shown in the letters written by the chief agent of the De Golyer paving job when he had secured the influence of Garfield.

Let us suppose, however, that you are right on *this* point, and then see how the case stands for Garfield. The admitted facts are that he accepted a payment of five thousand dollars for advocating a corrupt job. That the job was corrupt is not only admitted by its promoters, but is obvious from the terms on which the contracts were let. As you say, the Board of Works *fixed in advance* the prices (admittedly exorbitant) which they would pay for the different kinds of pavement, and the only question was which kinds should be used at the fixed prices. You seem to think that, because this condition applied equally to all the different kinds of pavement, it shows that the "impression that there was something fraudulent" in the De Golyer contract is "wholly without foundation." This is a most astounding inference. To my mind, the fact that this rotten plan was to be applied to all the contracts does nothing toward relieving the De Golyer contract of the taint of fraud. It merely shows that the entire scheme was so framed as to rob the District of Columbia and the United States Government. It is obvious that in order to avoid what an honest Board would have desired, namely, such competition as would give the best pavements at the lowest price, this Board took the plainly fraudulent course of fixing the prices in advance, and fixing them, too, at figures so high as to allow ample margin for "commissions," "fees," and "divvies." But it is a waste of time and words to argue as to the fraudulent nature of the De Golyer contract, since its corrupt character has been publicly admitted by its promoters.

The De Golyer job, then, was unquestionably corrupt, and Garfield's ex-

ertions in its favor were secured by the payment of \$5,000. If he could not discover its fraudulent character by a mere inspection of the terms of award, it seems to me that the only conclusion is that nature has wholly unfitted him for the transaction of any administrative business.

Now, I am (for the moment) arguing as if Garfield's position on the Appropriation Committee of Congress had nothing to do with the case. I will therefore confine myself to the enquiry, In what capacity did he advocate the job—as a lawyer, or as a public man of influence? What he *did* in the premises was to write a "brief" (at least, so he swore; but when cross-examined by the Committee he betrayed grave doubts respecting the "brief") and to confer with "Boss Shepherd," asking him "to give those Western men a chance." Now, these were not legal services, for, as you say, the question was *wholly as to the merits of the pavement*, which was not a legal question; and, as there were no professional legal services in the case, it only remains to ask what proper services were there which Garfield rendered, or could render, consistently with an honorable record. The answer seems to me plain. A man in Garfield's position as chairman of the Appropriation Committee of the House of Representatives could not decently accept a fee for advocating *any* paving job before a local board; he could not decently ask Shepherd to "give those Western men a chance"; he could not decently accept a heavy fee for such a service. When the employment was proposed to him he should have said at once that the question of the merits of pavements was a matter to be determined by experts and engineers—not by "briefs" and interviews with bosses; and, as I have previously said, one glance at the terms of award would show him that the question was not to be settled on the usual basis of an open competition to determine who would give the public the best work at the lowest price, but that things were arranged on the unheard-of system of fixing a high price in advance, and leaving it to the conscience of the Board to determine who should be permitted to "pick out the plums." If Garfield did not discover this at first glance (as he should have done, if fit to be a public officer) he must have found out how it was before the time when he asked Shepherd to "give those Western men a chance," and before he took his enormous fee for this discreditable service.

By the bye, what does your article mean by speaking of "the hearing before the Board as to the merits of these various patents," Garfield's being retained "as attorney to argue the merits," and his making "his presentation of the case to the Board"? Such phrases would lead your readers to suppose that Garfield took a regular legal retainer as a lawyer for a lawyer's argument before a board; whereas the service was not a legal one, there was no argument or presentation of the case to the Board, and when Garfield was pressed before the Committee by the enquiry whether there was even a "brief" filed, he replied that he "could not say there was." The only proved service was the conversation with "Boss Shepherd" to which I have referred before. Surely the words I have quoted above in this paragraph, from your article, are calculated to give a very false impression.

I have now been arguing on the supposition that you are right in asserting that "no appropriation from Congress could have been in contemplation"; but the admissions of the promoters of the De Golyer job, in the suit brought against them by Chittenden, prove that they did have in contemplation an appropriation from Congress at the time that they retained the services of Garfield, and that it was with the view to such appropriation that his services to them were secured. Is it not likewise true that Garfield, on his examination before the Committee, *at first* rested on your ground, that there was no appropriation—the job being all paid for by local assessments; but *afterwards*, on cross-examination, was forced to admit that there was a large appropriation? If it be true that he made these two contradictory statements, much light is thrown on this whole business, and also on the conflict of testimony in the Crédit-Mobilier transaction, and I am at a loss to know how he can find a defender in your editorial columns.

CRITIC.

[Congress appropriated money to pay the assessment imposed on the United States, in common with all other property-holders in the City of Washington, for the cost of the pavement in front of its own buildings. It does this in every city in the Union. In other words, it appropriated the money not as a legislature but as a taxpayer. This was a necessary and legal consequence of its having, by the act of February, 1871, turned over the "legislative power and authority" in the District to the Legislative Assembly of the District. An appropriation to pay the taxes imposed on United States property, in common with other property, was a matter of course. "Garfield's Appropriation Committee," therefore, recommended the appropriation as properly and naturally as it recommended an appropriation to pay for the gas consumed in the Capitol. It could not have avoided doing so without swindling the other taxpayers. Who was to pay for the pavement in front of the public buildings if not the United States? The "exultation of the chief agent in the De Golyer paving job" cannot, then,

have been due to his expectation that Congress would pay its share of the municipal taxes. It must have been due to his expectation that it would pay more than its share some time or other. The only question which concerns us here is whether General Garfield, when he took his fee, knew that the "chief agent" entertained this expectation, and furnished him with any reason for entertaining it. There is not a particle of proof of this.

We have already, in commenting on General Garfield's action in the matter, admitted his great indiscretion in taking the De Golyer fee, and in not perceiving the objections to the De Golyer contract. Our correspondent maintains that even if he was only indiscreet his indiscretion was so great as to show his unfitness for high administrative office. To which we reply that our correspondent judges the Board of Works and its doings by the aid of what somebody has called "hindsight," which is a good thing, but cannot for a moment be compared to foresight. General Garfield doubtless sees his folly to-day as clearly as "Critic" sees it, and has as sound a judgment with regard to all rascalities, like those of the District, which have been fully exposed. As to his taking a large fee for work which was not in his line, we have condemned this too in strong terms. But we are bound to add, in palliation of the offence, that, according to our experience of human nature, lawyers, even the acutest, are not usually alarmed by the offer of a tolerably large fee. We are not now speaking of enormous fees, such as Fisk paid in his railroad litigation. The ordinary effect of a promise of a good fee for services, even in a field in which a man is not an expert, is to tickle his self-love. Instead of being startled by it, and looking on it as an attempt to corrupt him, he is apt to think it a gratifying acknowledgment of his remarkable capacity. Consequently, there is a great deal more perspicacity available for criticism of other people's fees than for that of one's own. The difference between our position and "Critic's" lies mainly in the fact that he thinks that by showing that De Golyer was a bad man and his wickedness very plain, he proves that General Garfield, in advocating the adoption of his contract, became his confederate. We, on the other hand, acknowledge that General Garfield was very indiscreet indeed, but in judging him take into account that he had to rely on foresight while we have the benefit of hindsight, and that the fee was large enough to flatter but not large enough to frighten a man of ordinary self-esteem. But this is not all. Where two explanations of a wrongful act are possible, we hold that we must, in trying to get at the motives of the doer, take his previous character into account. If General Garfield were knowingly corrupt in the De Golyer case, is it likely that this would be the only charge of the kind that could be made against him? As chairman of the Committee on Appropriations he must have been exposed to constant temptation. Hundreds besides the "chief agent" must, during the whole of his Congressional career, have been very eager to secure his favor for scores of doubtful schemes and very willing to secure it by payment of heavy fees. If General Garfield were the kind of man "Critic" would have us believe he is, does any one suppose that the De Golyer charge would possess the value for his enemies that it now possesses; that there would not be a dozen such; that he would not have been known throughout the Union long ago as a purchasable person; that he would not now be rich instead of poor; and that there would not be fifty speculators boasting that they "owned" him? We do not desire to strain a point in his favor because he is a Presidential candidate whom we wish to see elected; but we insist that a Presidential candidate is entitled to the benefit of such rules of probability as we apply to the conduct of men in private life.—ED. NATION.]

REPUBLICAN THREATS OF REBELLION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Despite the condonement of the fraud of 1877 by the *Nation*, and the attempt to rehabilitate the badly-damaged character of candidate Garfield, there are still some of us—Independent voters now, but steady-going Republicans up to the election of 1868—who are still convinced not only that it is not our duty to vote the Republican ticket in November next, but to vote the Democratic, and that despite the fact that we are cordially in accord with the *Nation* in not hankering after another professional soldier for President. As a slight hint as to the reason why of the determination of very many Independents hereabouts to vote the Democratic ticket next November, I enclose

for your candid consideration the following editorial from yesterday's *Evening Bulletin*, and respectfully commend to your notice the concluding paragraph. The editor of the *Nation* knows as well as I do that this fairly represents the temper of a very considerable and very influential portion of the Republican party. The event of 1876-77 furnishes abundant evidence on this point.—Very respectfully,

J. B. S.

PHILADELPHIA, August 17, 1880.

[The following is the paragraph from the *Bulletin* to which our correspondent refers:

"11. Finally, can any intelligent man seriously suppose that the majority of the people of this country, the people of the great Northern communities, who not only have their business interests at stake, but who desire that the liberties of their country shall be preserved for their children, are going to submit quietly and tamely while Southern Democrats secure their hold of power by carrying successive elections through disfranchisement of the whole mass of Republicans in the South? That, after all, is the great question. It will be an amazing manifestation of self-control if the Republicans in the North shall accept the result of the very first election which shall secure a fraudulent victory to the Democratic party through 138 Southern electoral votes. But repetition of such a crime, which will surely come if the first attempt is successful, will probably plunge this nation into a fierce struggle which will differ from the last in this: the South will wield the authority of the Government, and we shall be the rebels."

We agree entirely with our correspondent in condemning these threats of rebellion and armed violence in which a portion of the Republican party occasionally indulge, and have for some time indulged, with regard to the Presidential election. Nothing can be more useful to the Democrats. They were helped greatly by the Republican predictions so freely uttered during the Grant "boom" that General Grant would, if not satisfied with the Congressional count of the votes, revise it himself, and then, if he awarded himself the Presidency, seize it by force. But, on the other hand, we presume that there is no Independent who denies the perpetration of enormous frauds at the Southern elections; and the first question which every real Independent ought to ask himself about them is not, "How shall I best show the disgust with which the nonsense talked about these frauds by Republican organs fills me?" but "How shall I most effectively contribute to their rational and peaceful prevention?" To vote for the Democratic candidate, it seems to us, according to such light as we now have, is to vote for a party which either denies the existence of the frauds altogether or proposes to do nothing about them, and even to live on them, and which, at all events, totally ignores them in its authorized utterances. We are far from liking the spirit in which a great many Republicans treat them, or the means by which they propose to remedy them; but it is quite plain to us that it is in the Republican party only that any sober and rational discussion of them now goes on, or in which there seems to be any chance at present for some legal treatment of them. For instance, we should go to General Garfield with a statement of the horrible dilemma in which we have placed the Southern whites, with strong confidence that we could get him to look at both sides of the question, and make some impression on him as to the necessity of approaching it, not with guns and drums, but with the same instruments of statesmanship by which all the great pacifications of history have been effected. We think it likely that we could get him to laugh over the Stalwart theory that there is no use in trying statesmanship on the Southern malcontents, because they are such bad men. He is probably familiar with the story of the Irish priest who, deploring the wickedness of his flock, and being asked if he had tried the Gospel on them, answered that he wasn't going to "waste good Gospel on the likes of 'em." We feel that this confidence is justified by what we know of his training, experience, and habits of thought. But we have no such confidence with regard to General Hancock. We fear he would meet us with some gaudy generality about "State rights," and "divided powers," and habeas corpus, and trial by jury, and other little rudiments of politics. We should expect to fare still worse with the great lights who do the political thinking of his party. We cannot recall at this moment a single attempt on the Democratic side to provide by legislation for the fact that the negroes are now free, very ignorant, and liable to great oppression. We do not ask that such an attempt should be what we like or could commend, but simply that it should furnish evidence of interest in the subject, and of a desire to

reduce the mischief caused at the South by the presence on the soil of a large population in a state of physical and moral degradation. We can see very well, for instance, why the party should be opposed to negro suffrage; but the failure to suggest or show any concern about other means of furnishing that protection and education which most respectable advocates of negro suffrage expected from it, is a sign of fatal weakness or inadequacy.—ED. NATION.]

MILITARY COMMISSIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The points made by "B. T. J.," on p. 93 of the *Nation* of August 5, will doubtless take more prominence in the pending canvass than their real importance entitles them to. Two or three things may help your readers to make a just estimate of them.

In the matter of General Hancock and Mrs. Surratt, it will be remembered that on the 3d of March, 1863, Congress passed an act in reference to the writ of habeas corpus, which also prescribed the powers and duties of various officers in the premises, intended to protect the rights of subjects in the cases of otherwise arbitrary arrests. The first section authorized the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in any case throughout the United States. The fourth section made his order a sufficient justification in all the courts where an arrest made under it was called in question (12 U. S. Stats. p. 755).

On the 15th of September, 1863, the President issued his proclamation suspending the writ in all cases where military, naval, or civil officers of the United States by the authority of the President held persons in custody as prisoners of war, spies, aiders and abettors of the enemy, or officers, soldiers, or seamen of the United States, or deserters therefrom, or amenable to military law or the rules and articles of war or regulations made by authority of the President, or for resisting a draft, or for any other offence against the military or naval service (13 U. S. Stats. p. 734).

On the morning of the day for the execution of Mrs. Surratt and others Judge Wylie, one of the supreme judges of the District of Columbia, allowed a writ of habeas corpus to issue to General Hancock, commander of the department, including the District of Columbia (with his headquarters at Washington), commanding him to produce the body of Mrs. Surratt, with the cause of her detention, forthwith before him. The writ was served on the general at eight o'clock A.M. His return shows an order (the original) of the President of the United States of that same day suspending the writ of habeas corpus in that case, and having the signature of the President thereto. Those who have examined the handwriting of the body of this order say that it is the same as that of the report to the President of the execution and other papers, thus showing that it was written at the general's headquarters. Passing that by, the time of the service of the writ and the date of the President's order are conclusive that when the general was served with the writ, instead of obeying it he procured a suspension of the writ itself. That the proclamation of September 15, 1863, did not suspend it in this case is obvious, and so it was holden both by the judge who issued it in this case, the general to whom it was issued, and the President and his advisers who suspended it. That the Executive did not make the order till the necessity for it to ensure the execution of the condemned arose, is perfectly apparent.

In reference to General Garfield, it should be remembered also that the second and third sections of the act above referred to required the Secretaries of War and State to furnish lists of the names of all persons held in arrest under their orders and the causes of arrest, so that judicial action could be had in their cases. It may also be recalled that the "old Capitol" and the "Carroll Row" had been turned into prisons and were crowded with inmates arrested and held by the order of the Secretary of War in disregard of these provisions of the law; that during the first term of General Garfield's service in Congress a resolution was by arrangement referred to his committee (the military) authorizing an investigation of the arrests, causes therefor, and the reasons why charges and trials were delayed. Garfield, accompanied by Schenck, the chairman of the committee, made a personal examination of the prisons and prisoners and found ample cause for a searching enquiry, which was entered upon with vigor. This was in January, 1865; a day or two later a similar resolution was referred to the same committee, enlarging its powers. During the day of its reference Thaddeus Stevens moved to rescind it, and a debate arose, pending which Mr. Garfield entered the House and took a decisive part in it. The information secured by his personal interview with the prisoners enabled him to do this. He related in his speech the story of a Union colonel, wounded at the second battle of Bull Run, who had been imprisoned five months on no charge. On his motion the resolution to rescind was tabled. This action of the House, and Garfield's bold condemnation of the course pursued, produced an immediate correction of the abuses. His course also led to his appearance in the Milligan case, for which not even the

thanks of the liberated ever reached him, but plenty of Republican denunciation instead.

As to the later military commissions, they were directly authorized by act of Congress, while the former were without color of law, and in violation of its spirit and intent. This, as it seems to me, is an important distinction to be kept in mind. The United States elected, in the interest of humanity, to regard the civil as a public war, governed by the laws and usages of war. The rebels were enemies to be dealt with as such. The war ended with their entire subjugation and conquest. There was no treaty of peace, no party was left to negotiate a treaty. The enemy was subdued, and his territory held by conquest. His laws, institutions, and usages subsisted only at the will of the conqueror. All the points and questions involved in this summary have been decided in the Supreme Court of the United States. Among the numerous cases see the *Am. Ins. Case*, 1 Peters, 511; *Brig Warwick, et al.*, 2 Black, 635; the *Venice*, 2 Wallace, 258; the *Grape-shot*, 9 *id.*, 129; *Miller v. The United States*, 11 *id.*, 268; *Tyler v. Defrees*, 11 *id.*, 531; *M. & T. Bank v. U. Bank*, 22 *id.*, 276, and many others. In this condition of things Congress, under the Constitution as expounded by Chief-Justice Marshall in the first of the above cases, passed the act of March 2, 1867, establishing the military governments in the conquered territory. The measure was at the time wise and judicious, so far as the thing government was concerned. There did not then exist the factors or conditions for any other so good. The mistake was in not continuing those governments longer. Under them, through the South generally, life and property were better protected than they have been at any time since. This act did authorize military commissions. There were then many portions of the unhappy country placed under these military governments where those tribunals furnished better facilities for obtaining redress than can now be found in them, or than have at any time since then administered what by fiction of law is called justice in some sections of the South. The times and conditions to which reference is made were abnormal; and, while we deplore them, would it not be wise and just to assume that the two distinguished men mentioned by your correspondent dealt with them, each in his sphere, honestly, under the best light he had? I am sure there is elevation and nobleness enough in their characters and conduct to lift this canvass above the ordinary level of our politics.

R.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 7.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM AGITATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue for August 5 a correspondent, "F. G. S.," makes a suggestion well worth considering, and which the friends of civil-service reform especially should not let pass unheeded. I mean the idea of a society to agitate the subject, similar to the Loyal Publication Society during the war. I have for some time looked in vain for steps toward organizing such a body, taken by the leaders in the reform movement, and hope for the sake of the cause that something practical may come of the present consideration of the subject.

One needs only to make this topic a subject of general conversation with men of all classes to notice the amazing ignorance, prejudice, and indifference which prevail universally on a question of such vital importance. The state of the public mind on this subject is indeed a curious example of that American conservatism which, as Mr. Dicey has so well pointed out, out-Herods even that of England on the subject of rectifying any error which has once come to be looked upon as part and parcel of our idolized "Constitution." We have so long been taught to look upon that instrument and the ways of the "Fathers" down to the time of the war as the nearest possible approach to perfection that the common people, and, indeed, all but the shrewdest observers and critics, refuse absolutely to believe that we are in our methods of administration to-day cuddling abuses which for nearly a century have been found intolerable in the most enlightened nations of Europe.

The remedy, and the only remedy, for this state of affairs is education and enlightenment. This, again, can only be accomplished by agitation, political, social, and even religious. I verily believe that the abolition of the "spoils" system in politics will be as great a blessing to our country as the abolition of slavery, and I think, moreover, that civil-service reformers can take many valuable hints from the methods of the Abolitionists. Like these, we should put the argument entirely on the question of abstract moral right; there should be no considerations of expediency beyond this, that it is expedient because it is right that both parties should be compelled to make the introduction of the merit system a part of their programme. The evils of the old system and the benefits of the new have been ably and lucidly set forth by Mr. Dorman B. Eaton, in his recent work on the civil service in Great Britain; this work would itself be a mine of information for the writers of a "Civil-Service Reform Publication Society." Extracts from the reports of the British and American Civil-Service Commissions; statistical statements of the results of the method of competition; the views of our great publicists,

Lieber, Woolsey, Madison, Hamilton, etc.—all these would be available subjects for tracts and pamphlets. Besides this, a society of this sort should have an organ, which need not appear more frequently than once in three months, in which all gazetted appointments should be noted and every violation of sound principles denounced and proclaimed. In this, as in most other cases of official abuse, publicity is a tremendous weapon in the hands of reformers. Like the Abolitionists, civil-service reformers would commit errors, and, like them, they would almost be overwhelmed for a time by the abuse, sarcasm, and resistance of the whole race of politicians. As Mr. Curtis says, in his introduction to Mr. Eaton's book: "There is no more startling sign of political demoralization than the craft which turns the follies of reformers into blows at reform"; and this very phenomenon would be of daily occurrence. Two great difficulties are in the way of the successful working of such a central body for the purpose of agitating this subject, but neither seems to me to be insurmountable: the one is the necessity of having men from both parties in the organization, and the difficulty of accomplishing this purpose; the other is the want of money.

As to the first point, the difficulty is both real and apparent. It is my individual opinion, as it is that of the *Nation*, that in the present Presidential campaign the interests of a thorough, radical, and complete reform will best be subserved by the election of General Garfield. Beyond any doubt there are many honest and zealous reformers who hold an opposite view. How can these two elements be harmonized? It seems to me that there is only one method of accomplishing this. The time before a Presidential election is in some respects the best, in some again the least advantageous, for the establishment of a reform society. The latter will then have most influence, but it must for the time being forego its non-partisan character. Thus, any organization which would be established now would have to take sides in the campaign. It would have to favor either Garfield or Hancock. No doubt it would gain a hearing with great ease. Partisans of both candidates are just now in a receptive state for further reasons why their own party should win. The regular organizations and "Machines"—hostile as they are to the very thought of reform—would nevertheless either offer no resistance, or even aid in the circulation of documents the primary end of which is to gain votes which otherwise might be lost. On the other hand, these very advantages would but serve to discredit the cause in the eyes of the other party, and it would be decreed with a shadow of reason as a partisan trick and subterfuge designed to help one candidate. The possibility of overcoming these difficulties would depend entirely upon the tact and evident sincerity of the leaders in the movement. If it be not too late to form a society of the above kind this year, I think the sensible men of both parties will have confidence in Messrs. Curtis, Eaton, Lodge, Woolsey, Sumner, C. F. Adams, Jr., and others whom natural selection would point out as the indispensable leaders, and that their names alone would be a guaranty against a possible perversion of the organization into a partisan "machine." After the election, moreover, large accessions in membership from the Democratic party might be expected.

The second and minor difficulty is the lack of funds. A publication society could not work efficiently with less than \$5,000 a year. If the basis of organization, however, be the whole country, with a central committee in New York, and auxiliary organizations in the larger centres of population, it seems to me that there would be little difficulty in acquiring a membership of five thousand or more, whose dues, at the rate of one dollar a year (for which they should be supplied with copies of all publications) would be sufficient for the current expense.

If the above plan be approved, nothing would remain but to organize as soon as possible. If several gentlemen, like those above named, will unite in a call for a preliminary meeting either at New York, Saratoga, or Newport the response would, in my opinion, be hearty and general. Perhaps it might be best, however, to ask all those who are willing to attend such a meeting or to join a society like the one spoken of to send their names and addresses to the Independents' Committee rooms, together with their preference as to locality and time of the preliminary meeting. I will here declare my personal willingness and preference for New York. Trusting many more will respond,

I am very truly yours,

F. W. H.

MT. VERNON, N. Y., August 9, 1880.

Notes.

THE Boston Museum of Fine Arts has resolved to assume for that city the function of our New York Academy by holding annual exhibitions of the works of living American artists. The season selected—the autumn—will not interfere with the New York season. This year the exhibition will be opened on Nov. 9 and close on Dec. 20, and will include both oils and water-colors, as well as drawings and statuary. No contributions will be received which have already been publicly exhibited in Boston, or which arrive

later than October 30. Circulars will be sent on application to the Museum. —The eleventh report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health (now merged in the new State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity) contains an index to the whole series of volumes by Francis H. Brown, M.D.—From the office of the *American Bookseller* is published the *Monthly Index* to current periodical literature, proceedings of learned societies, and Government publications. Fiction is disregarded. The first number was issued in July. —Part 3 of vol. iii. of the Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society has just been published, six years after the second and ten years after the first part. It relates largely to the Indians, and contains several obituary notices of deceased missionaries among them.—A tourist's manual of more than ordinary substance is Mr. Franklin B. Hough's 'The Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence' (Syracuse: Davis, Bardeen & Co.) It is divided into an historical and legendary portion, and one consisting of the descriptions of travellers and of historical and statistical writers. In the latter are given the French words and the music of two Canadian boat-songs, but the French is shockingly misprinted, and the author's knowledge of the language is so slight that he denies that the first song has any rhyme. —Harroun & Bierstadt, 58 Reade Street, send us an autotype, from life, of General Garfield, which is one of the best likenesses of him we have thus far seen. It should help conciliate his opponents.—A handbook of unmistakable utility is Mr. George N. Lamphere's 'United States Government: its Organization and Practical Workings' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.) Nowhere else can one obtain such a systematic exhibit of the constitution of the several departments of the national administration, with their bureaux and complement of officers and clerks, salaries, etc., etc. As examples of the sort of information to be found in it, we may cite, under the War Department, the list of seventy-nine national cemeteries, the list of military posts, the examination-papers for appointees to the Military Academy, and the requisite personal outfit of a cadet. The work deserves to be kept up by fresh editions in accordance with the latest statistics. The blank space on p. 21 would admit of particulars in regard to the date of passage of the foregoing amendments to the U. S. Constitution.—Trübner & Co. send us 'The Cities and Towns of China,' a gazetteer based on Biot's 'Dictionnaire des Villes Chinoises' (1842). The compiler, Mr. G. M. H. Playfair, of the British Consulate at Foochow, has been obliged to rearrange the original material entirely, in order to make it conform to the orthography he has adopted, which is that of the Pekinese dialect, romanized according to Sir Thomas Wade's system. He has, in order to report the changes of a whole generation, as well as to meet the growing needs of commerce, added a large number of places, and located them as well and as scientifically as he was able—if not by a true latitude and longitude, by such a determination as will guide one who consults a map. Each town has its name given in the Chinese character, together with its different names under the several dynasties, with abundant cross-references from the alphabetical order. Particulars as to population, etc., are, of course, wanting. Under each province is given a list of its administrative cities, and, finally, there is a radical index.—L. W. Schmidt has received Part II. of Stacke's 'Deutsche Geschichte,' which we noticed last week. The history is here brought down to the end of the twelfth century. Our expectations in regard to the sustained interest of the illustrations have not been disappointed. They are of the same general character as those already described, with perhaps a larger admixture of royal effigies, seals, coins, etc., and a decided increase in the number of illuminated plates and of colored initial-letters—the latter of singular beauty and delicacy.

—By an act passed last June the Legislature of this State appropriated twenty thousand dollars annually, for two years, for a State experiment-station, for "the purpose of promoting agriculture in its various branches by scientific investigation and experiment." The question of the location of the station is in the hands of a board of control, which will appoint a director also and oversee his work. It is rumored that a somewhat active scramble both for the place and the position is now in progress. One party wishes to have the establishment at or near Cornell University, and to have a university man chosen director; while another is agitating in favor of Long Island, in the vicinity of this city, and in the interest of one or another free lance. There are withal many opinions as to how the money should be spent; and the present condition of the enterprise is not a little interesting and instructive, as showing the inevitable tendency of "spoils" to incite warfare even in the scientific fold. Such conditions are naturally favorable for the advancement of the least scrupulous lambs, and it is to be expected, if political struggles for scientific precedence are to continue, that something very like a wolf will ultimately be evolved in scientific circles.

—When the Brazilian law of September 28, 1871, establishing in the empire the principle of the *venter liber*, was promulgated it was doubted if it would be honestly enforced. The experience of these nine years proves that the Brazilian authorities not only did not provide the country with the legislation necessary to the carrying out of that law, but have actually deprived

the law of some of its essential features, thus frustrating the gradual emancipation of the one million four hundred thousand slaves still existing in the empire. The principal provisions of that law were: first, that every child born after the date of its promulgation was free; second, that the owners of the slave-mother of such a child would be entitled to the services of the child up to its coming of age, the services to be considered as a compensation for the child's maintenance and education; third, that, instead of thus keeping the child *ingenuus* in that bondage, the master might surrender him to the state, to be educated by it; fourth, that an "emancipation fund" should be created immediately from the product of lotteries (a favorite source of Brazilian income) and of certain imposts, fines, etc., this fund to be divided every year among the provinces for the manumission of slaves, whose names were to be drawn by lot. The Government has never taken effective steps towards bringing up these free-born children of slaves. The fund was indeed formed, but, instead of producing two to three millions of dollars, as was expected, it has yielded only a meagre half a million, and has been divided but once in nine years. Not content with this criminal neglect, the Government has misapplied half a million of dollars of the fund to other purposes, and, as if that were not enough, in 1879 it passed a law authorizing the Treasury to apply to the general budget the fund specially raised and declared to be sacredly held for emancipation purposes. So all there is of the fund now is two millions of dollars. The money that has been diverted from it would be sufficient for the liberation of fourteen hundred slaves, or one-thousandth of the whole slave population of Brazil. Since 1871 only four thousand five hundred slaves have availed themselves of the fund, although four millions and a half have been raised for it, and although the number of private manumissions has exceeded fifty thousand. Considering that that abuse has been going on under the first Liberal Cabinet that Brazil has had for many years, and after two trips, to Europe and the United States, of its Emperor, who has been reputed so liberal and friendly to emancipation, one cannot help questioning the Brazilian progress of which so much was heard here during Dom Pedro's visit. We remark that the new Ministry of Sr. Saraiva promises to make now a second distribution of the fund. This is, indeed, the very least it can do, for there is hardly any difference between wilful reduction of freemen to slavery and the violation of a fund for emancipation of slaves. While the Government has thus shamefully retarded emancipation and misspent the scanty income of half a million of its fund, it has wasted three millions a year on European immigration, which has proved such a failure that it is now trying to import coolies, having already despatched an ambassador to China to treat for that purpose.

—As is natural, the literary losses incurred in the burning of Mommsen's library on the 12th of July cannot be exactly ascertained. Not a book of his own escaped, and his insurance was only 14,000 marks (\$3,500). Of the great works upon which he was engaged, vol. viii. (Africa) of the 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' was saved intact, while the 'Instrumentum Domesticum' (Lower Italy, East) of vol. ix., the 'Columnæ Militariæ' (Sicily and Sardinia) of vol. x., the 'Index Auctorum' of vols. ix. and x., and the Helvetic Inscriptions of vol. xiii. were sadly damaged, and the addenda to vol. x., containing Lower Italy, West, were practically destroyed. The critical text of Jordanes prepared for publication in the 'Auctores Antiquissimi' of the 'Monumenta Germaniæ' was rescued, although the four MSS. on which it was based, and which belonged to the libraries of Heidelberg, Berlin, Vienna, and Breslau, perished in the flames. It is not yet known whether or to what extent their fate was shared by MSS. lent from the Vatican and the Cambridge libraries. Mommsen's 'History of the Empire,' of which nearly three volumes were ready, is among the irreparable losses.

—'Culturbilder aus Griechenland' is a thin volume of one hundred and fifty pages, by Dr. Pervanoglu, formerly librarian of the University of Athens. It is provided with a short preface by Von Rangabé, Grecian minister at Berlin. It is not, as one would suppose at first sight, devoted to classical Greece, but is an attempt by a patriotic Greek to present such a picture, or succession of pictures, of his native land as should aid in winning for it more respect and attention. There are, besides the introduction, nine chapters, upon Land, People, Manners and Customs, Weddings and Burials, Popular Amusements, Athens, Literature and Language, Commerce, etc., and Politics. It is, of course, written in a somewhat apologetic tone, showing that sensitiveness to foreign criticism which we Americans know so well, but it is well worth consulting by all who are interested in this young nation, or who purpose visiting it. Its publication is very timely, now that Greece is being brought so prominently before the eyes of Europe.

—M. Victor Guérin's preface to the second edition of his 'Île de Rhodes' just brought out in Paris by Ernest Leroux—a minute and learned description of that island, first published in 1856, and hardly yet superseded by a similar work in any language, though Berg's 'Die Insel Rhodus' appeared in 1861—contains an interesting statement connecting an explosion of the year 1856 with the struggle of 1522, in which the Knights of St. John succumbed to

Sultan Solymán the Magnificent. Contemporary historians ascribe the fall of the Christian power in Rhodes in part to the treachery of D'Amaral, chancellor of the order, who, in the year preceding the fatal contest, had been defeated in the election of a grand-master by Villiers de l'Isle-Adam. Prompted by vindictiveness, it is said, he secretly instigated Solymán to undertake the siege of the great stronghold of the Knights, indicated to him its feeblest points, and buried a portion of the powder needed for its defence. In 1854 M. Guérin, having visited the subterranean vaults of the old ramparts, called the attention of the Pasha to the sudden calamity with which the buried ammunition still menaced the city of Rhodes, and urged him to institute a search. "God alone," the Moslem answered, "can know where the stores are of which you speak; God is great and merciful, and he will care for it." Two years later a terrific explosion shook a part of the city; the former Church of St. John, transformed into a mosque after the Turkish conquest, was blown into ruins, which buried the Moslems who were worshipping there. The ancient palace of the grand-masters and other buildings also suffered by the shock, which, almost as violent as an earthquake, was caused by a large heap of powder previously unknown to the inhabitants. Was not this explosion, M. Guérin asks, a revelation, after more than three centuries, of the infamous treason with which D'Amaral was charged by his contemporaries?

—The formation by the Germans of a vigorous federal government in their new Empire has naturally directed their attention to our Union as the most conspicuous modern example of a federal state, and has called forth an active study of our Constitution and its history. This consideration is presented by Dr. Eugen Schlieff as a leading inducement to the preparation of his 'Die Verfassung der Nordamerikanischen Union,' recently published by Brockhaus (New York: L. W. Schmidt). Especial attention is given, therefore, by him to the practical side of our Constitution. One part is devoted to this topic; and the numerous incidental discussions, and the comparison with the institutions or the condition of things in Germany, are a striking feature of the book. The general point of view of the author, developed in chapter iv. (page 54), is that a federal government is, so to speak, in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and tends irresistibly towards either consolidation or dissolution. Our last three amendments, therefore, indispensable enlargements of the national power, and steps in a necessary movement of centralization, he pronounces (p. 452) *begriffswidrig* from the point of view of the States—that is to say, hostile to the constitutional conception of the reserved powers of the States. The book is in three parts. Part I., Introduction, contains, in six chapters, a very inadequate historical introduction, a sketch of the literature, and an excellent discussion of the theoretical principles of government, and of federal government in particular. Part II., the Constitution, is in five divisions: 1, the Factors of Government; 2, the Executive; 3, Impeachment; 4, the Powers of the Government; 5, Amendments—twenty-five chapters in all. Part III., the practical workings of American Constitutional Law, contains four chapters: one general, and one each upon Equality, Freedom, and "Particularismus und Centralization"—that is, the States-rights controversy. There is no index, but a very good table of contents.

DR. BUSHNELL.*

A GENTLEMAN who had known little of the earlier life of Dr. Bushnell, and became acquainted with him only through his later writings, his lectures and addresses, once drew this imaginary portrait of him:

"Physically a strong man, broad-shouldered, deep-chested, in robust health; his early life refined by culture, and his manners and speech made easy by early association with cultured and refined persons; socially, one who if not wealthy has always been in easy circumstances; professionally, one who has always held an assured position whereby he has acquired an unconscious, authoritative tone; liberal and advanced in his views, but a man who has never developed the partisan character of a reformer, and whose public life has been happily free from the embitterments of controversy." Yet in every substantial particular this life-picture presents the reverse of the life-record.

That a young man whose entire youth has been passed in poverty and ignorance, like that of George Stephenson and Abraham Lincoln, can grow into eminence in the one thing of his business or profession, carrying along with him his unpolished manners, and homely speech, and simple tastes, we can all understand; but that a man thus circumstanced in youth can be so transformed by his own steady application that the last half of his life shall give no indication of the first half in those elements which make and betray the man, is one of the marvels of human nature. The Dr. Bushnell of the last twenty years, applauded, admired, revered; with the surviving fathers of the Congregational Church rendering him confidence and affection; with a crowd of young clergymen around him intent on the polished sentences of his animated talk—of him our readers have a tolerably clear conception. But

* 'Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell.' New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

the Horace Bushnell of sixty years ago, of forty years ago, what manner of man was he?

In two admirable sketches of two admirable women (his grandmother and his mother) Dr. Bushnell has incidentally drawn the portraiture of his earlier life; and, we may add, has given to us a vivid picture of that heroic rural New England which was, and perhaps is, but which all must regretfully concede will soon have passed away:

"She [his mother] was providing and training her six children, clothing her whole family in linens and woollens, spun, every thread, and made up in the house, to a great extent, also, by herself. She had a farm-and-dairy charge to administer, also the farm workmen to board, and for five or six months in a year the workmen, besides, of a homespun cloth-dressing shop."

"There was always something for the smallest to do—errands to run, berries to pick, weeds to pull, earnings all for the common property in which he thus begins to be a stockholder. So for both sexes and all sizes; and how very close up to the gateway of God is every child brought who is trained to the consenting obedience of industry! Indeed, there is nothing in these early days that I remember with more zest than that I did the full work of a man for at least five years before the manly age; this, too, under no eight-hour law of protective delicacy, but holding fast the astronomic ordinance in a service of from thirteen to fourteen hours."

"Her first offer to me of a liberal education [at the age of sixteen] I peremptorily declined; for how could an awkward country boy think of going in among the great folk of a college? But about five years later, when brought under motives of religion, I asked the opportunity for myself. Now it was too late. The homespun was going rapidly out of use, and the business concerned in its production was growing less and less profitable. But my mother, who in this could hardly submit even to necessity, called a congress of the family, where we drew the calculation close and made up our bill—I to wear homespun to the end, use only second-hand books, and pay the bills of my last year myself; the family to institute a closer economy, for my sake, which they somehow found a place to do, though I never could see where."

"I was brought up in a country family, ignorant of any but country society, where cultivated language in conversation was unknown. I entered college late, at twenty-one years of age, when the vernacular type of language is cast, and will not afterwards commonly be much altered. I came to writing with no stock of speech but this. I had no language, and if I chanced to have an idea nothing came to give it expression."

From this rough New England acorn, tardily planted, grew the beautiful tree of a cultivated, refined, and comprehensive mind. But the contrast of the suppositional with the real picture does not stop here. The bronzed young farmer, with well-developed muscles, when he entered the freshman class at the age of twenty-one, appeared to the younger and weaker youth of the college as the very embodiment of sturdy life and health. But in the severe strain of rebuilding the intellectual he unmade the physical, and as he left behind him the homely speech of the farm-neighborhood he unhappily, perhaps unconsciously, dropped with it the wealth of health wherewith the farm had endowed him. In middle life his form seemed slender, if not fragile. At thirty-seven there crops out in the biography the ominous beginning of the series, "out of health," "ill-health," "serious illness," "constant cough," "completely broken down."

About the same time came the first blasts of the theological gale which beat upon him through the best years of his life. First, one of his own deacons—a deacon of the stern, old New-England stuff, courteous, invincibly firm, and with an eye as quick to mark false doctrine in the sermon of his pastor as to detect short measure in the goods which came into his warehouse—writes a kind and respectful letter, in which, nevertheless, he tells his pastor plainly, "You hold many things which affect and subvert long-established and well-established doctrines and principles, and those in which our churches are at rest and in union." Then came charges of heterodoxy, of heretical teaching, an ecclesiastical trial in which Dr. Bushnell was acquitted not unanimously, and the majority which acquitted went upon no better ground than that the errors of his book were not fundamental. Then came renewed attempts by other Congregational churches to bring him again to trial, and these attempts were defeated not on the merits of the controversy, but upon the technical ground of want of jurisdiction. Then, to evade further proceedings, his own church withdrew from the "consociation" of churches of which it was a member. Finally, after ecclesiastical proceedings had ceased, after Dr. Bushnell had secured the only acquittal he ever obtained from constituted authority, the Congregational clergymen of Hartford would not "exchange" with him nor allow him to preach from their pulpits. Thus, through the score of years wherein a strong man is at his best, the very harvest-time of one's manhood, Dr. Bushnell's purposes were being undermined by his breaking health, and a cold blast of suspicion, dissent, and disapproval was beating down upon him which would have congealed the soul of an ordinary man. Nevertheless, between the ages of thirty-seven and fifty-seven he fought out his battle of life, unwavering, unswerving; and then, recognizing the fact that his physical man was but a wreck, he, with characteristic decision, resigned his pastorate, greatly beloved, greatly esteemed, and all but universally regarded as one of the successful men of this world—as a man who had fought his way up to the highest rank in his branch

of the service, whose works would survive his own life, and remain an element in the history of his time and church and faith.

The force which Dr. Bushnell exerted during the controversial period of his life, we think, may be defined as influence. He did not command men; he did not lead them, he did not even convince them. He established no sect, he founded no school, he left no accepted system, and from a doctrinal point of view he had no following. The men who stood by him in his season of trial, such men as Dr. Porter, of Farmington, and Dr. Leonard Bacon, and the men who acquitted him of the charge of heretical teaching, did not reach his conclusions nor acquiesce in his views. Here and there men and bodies of men announced that they adopted the controverted opinions of Dr. Bushnell; but it is manifest that they were actuated chiefly by love and sympathy for him, by the belief that he was a great and good man who had been harshly treated, and by the fact that they found nothing heretical in his books. They adopted his creed, but they cared much more for the man than the creed. Nevertheless, the influence of Dr. Bushnell has been a great power, steadily making its own way, constantly, like water, expanding and permeating. If other men have not adopted his enlarged horizon, they have, in consequence of his teaching, enlarged their own. If his arguments did not storm the intrenched camps of the "schools," his influence gradually levelled their fortifications and brought the defenders out into a broader plain of theologic liberality.

Within the Congregational lines and among those worthy persons who clung tenaciously to the formulated belief of "doctrine," it may be said that Dr. Bushnell never went backward and that his opponents never moved forward. At first many persons supposed that he would go over to the Unitarians, and some doubtless thought that it would be a good riddance of his disturbances. But Dr. Bushnell would not go. Soon it became apparent to them that he was not a Unitarian, nor a Methodist, nor a Presbyterian, nor a Baptist, nor an Episcopalian, nor a Romanist, and gradually they settled down in the belief that he must needs be a Congregationalist after all. From this point the transition was easy to that at which they spoke of him as a man of genius, but erratic and visionary. After a time the qualifying clause dropped off, his brilliancy of intellect and goodness of heart were fully recognized, and when he died the general voice of his denomination classified him with the great clergymen of America, and placed his works among the distinguished teachings of the Christian Church.

In his biography Dr. Bushnell is fortunate. The preface designates it as a composite work, but the burden of it has been borne manifestly by the loving hands of his daughters. Ordinarily a man's nearest relations are not discriminating judges of what it is best to publish or omit; but this book evidently had the benefit of able criticism before it went to the publisher. Great care and much labor must have been bestowed in collecting, arranging, and rejecting material, so that letters and extracts form no inconsiderable part of an intelligible narrative. Portions of it will be interesting, doubtless, to only one class of readers, and other portions only to another class; some "long-deferred" letters "hastily written" by an overworked invalid do not do justice to the real man, others will be interesting only to his personal friends; but as a whole the book brings out Dr. Bushnell in his character, in his struggles, in his work, in all those things that made up his life. It also brings out many of those passages and utterances of the man which do not find their way into his formal writings, and it unfolds many of the views of an able mind that pass unnoticed in the volumes of his works. For illustration, in 1840 Dr. Bushnell made this wonderful forecast of our present political condition, which we commend to all conscientious voters who deem civil-service reform a needless and visionary thing.

"This doctrine, which proposes to give the spoils to the victors, has been imputed mostly to one of our political parties, and, as some suppose, has been avowed by that party. Of this I am willing to doubt. We shall see, perhaps, how far the opposing party will abjure this doctrine of the spoils, and whether it is not yet to be the universal doctrine of politics in the land. If so, then shall we have a scene in this land never before exhibited on earth—one which would destroy the integrity and sink the morality of a nation of angels. It will be as if so many offices, worth so much, together with the seamless robe of our glorious Constitution, were held up to be the price of victory, and as if it were said: 'Look, ye people, here is a premium offered to every discontent you can raise, every combination or faction you can mention, every lie you can invent. Cupidity here is every man's right; try for what you can, and as much as you can get you shall have.' Only conceive such a lure held out to this great people, and all the little offices of the Government thus set up for the price of the victory, without regard to merit or anything but party services, and you have a spectacle of baseness and rapacity such as was never seen before. No preaching of the Gospel in our land, no parental discipline, no schools, not all the machinery of virtue together, can long be a match for the corrupting power of our political strifes, actuated by such a law as this."

There are many points of Dr. Bushnell's life to which we cannot even allude, such as his public spirit, his social character, the wonderful industry of his old age, the dauntless spirit which braved theological seminaries and raised him from beds of sickness to battle for health alone among strangers,

and prompted him to climb to the summit of the Giant of the Adirondacks by an unknown route of his own exploring, when men spoke of him as a "retired clergyman," supernaturated and broken down. In conclusion, we ought to add that the book contains, what biographers are too apt to omit, a good index and an excellent table of contents. As the exposition of the life of an able man it will well repay the perusal of every intelligent reader.

MR. TROLLOPE'S LAST NOVEL.*

MR. RICHARD GRANT WHITE has recently published a criticism of this novel in which he has been at some pains to show the material difference between the art of novel-writing as managed by Scott and by Trollope. Such a comparison may serve very well to bring out the excellence of Scott, and to exhibit an analysis of the causes which place him at the head of English writers of fiction. Mr. White justly points out that the distinguishing mark separating Scott from all his successors is his masterly management of his plots. But then it must be remembered that his great plots were plots of romances rather than novels properly so called; romances in which there were heroes and heroines, and great passions and profound griefs, and in fact all that a lofty and manly imagination could extract in the way of poetry from that twilight of legend and legendary history which lasted down to the opening of this century, but which modern civilization has since broadened into the full light of garish day. It is safe to say that, although Scott displayed a greater mastery of the art of story-telling than any one who has appeared since, novels like his belong to a bygone day, and, therefore, to compare modern novelists with him is out of place. The romantic school, whether in fiction or poetry, whether in England, America, or France, is as completely dead as if it had never existed, and it is a natural result of this that the art of plot-making should have disappeared. For the construction of a plot, as Scott constructed one, or as Victor Hugo, or even as Dumas *père*, or Lever constructed one, was essentially dependent upon the romantic conception of the world which produced the romantic school of fiction—a world peopled with heroes and heroines, a world of love, adventure, and war, a world of enthusiasm, unselfishness, and all chivalric sentiments standing out in bold and beautiful relief against a dark background of intrigue and crime; such a world is necessarily a world adapted to the production of plots. In 'Guy Mannering,' the 'Talisman,' and 'Quentin Durward' Scott has elaborated the scheme of adventure and love which forms the basis of the story with the most careful attention to details, giving it an internal development and growth of its own; but could he have done anything else? These romances without their elaborate plots would be impossibilities. Excepting the Scotch characters, whom he drew from life, and the historical personages (like Louis the Eleventh, for instance, or Queen Elizabeth), who are rather wonderful historical portraits, animated like characters in *tableaux vivants*, than real persons, Scott's characters as such have not much genuine interest. This has always been acknowledged with regard to his heroes, and we fancy will in the end be admitted even of those lovely creatures who fire his heroes' hearts to deeds of daring and devotion. Scott's heroines are fine proofs of the height to which an idealizing imagination can lift the objects of its admiration; but are they real women? Is there not more reality in Thackeray's caricatures of Rebecca and Rowena than in Rebecca and Rowena themselves? The same thing might be said of many of the other persons in 'Ivanhoe.'

The love of reality having supplanted the love of romance, it is but natural that in novel-writing the plot should yield in importance to character. There is, it must be admitted, an antecedent improbability in all plots, strictly so-called. Things do not happen in real life as they do in the Waverley novels. True love may not run smooth, but neither does it invariably triumph over the obstacles in its path. Nor are there always obstacles in its way. Adventure, if piled upon adventure, has an air of unreality of which even the most carefully-concealed and surprising dénouement does not relieve it. You may go even further than this, and say with the Naturalists—who bear to Realists somewhat the same relation which the latter do to the Romanticists—that in real life events do not develop themselves in any coherent order at all; that there is no beginning or ending to anything, and that the function of the novel-writer is to bring out this great fact. But the difficulty with the naturalistic theory, as a theory, is that fiction based on the idea of photographically representing life itself would be a bald series of statements of facts, like those in the columns of a newspaper. The moment it departs from this type, and adopts order, form, and method, it ceases to be naturalistic. Consequently those naturalists who, like Zola, succeed in writing interesting novels, always do so by violating in a degree the canons of their own creed. Naturalism is fortunately a French product, and has never taken a strong hold of the Anglo-Saxon imagination. In England fiction, though it has long since abandoned the paths of romanticism (for even the author of 'Conrad Fleming' and 'Henrietta Temple' does not any longer write ro-

mances), has not gone beyond those of realism, and in realistic novel-writing, *pace* Mr. White, it would be hard to name any one who could be for a moment compared with Trollope. It is said that he holds and has expressed the opinion that novel-writing is a business to which any intelligent man can be brought up, and the ease and rapidity with which he pours forth stories from the press are calculated to produce the impression that the trick could readily be acquired; but, unless we are mistaken, no one ever has written and no one ever will write novels like Trollope, and the art which he possesses could no more be communicated than the art of writing good acting comedies or popular street-songs.

The 'Duke's Children' is, like all Trollope's novels, an extremely simple story. It belongs to the series in which the Duke of Omnium and Phineas Finn and his wife appear, and narrates the fortunes of the duke's eldest son and daughter. Briefly, the duke's eldest son, Lord Silverbridge, is a modern young man who has inherited none of his father's talent or capacity for governing men and particularly the members of the House of Commons, but who is fond of amusing himself, fond of horses and of the society of young ladies. He has adopted, to his father's great regret, Conservative opinions—the Pallisers always having been Liberal—and this, too, merely from having fallen into the society of other young men who hold such opinions. He is amiable, good-looking, and the heir of an immense property. His character is like that of dozens of young Englishmen of the present time, and is really so negative that it is hard to describe. He has two love-affairs, one with Mabel Grex, the fortune-hunting but attractive daughter of a ruined earl, and the second with an American girl, Miss Boncassen, whom he finally marries. Miss Boncassen's father is an American gentleman of good breeding and taste, but her grandfather was a day-laborer, so that in the matter of family there was some reason for the old duke to feel wofully grieved by his son's attachment, particularly as he would have been greatly pleased if Lord Silverbridge had married Mabel. Meanwhile he is disappointed in other things. His daughter, a charming girl, falls in love with Frank Tregear, who, though a gentleman, has no right to dream of such good fortune as marrying the daughter of the Duke of Omnium. This attachment the duke does his best to break up, of course without success. In the end Frank Tregear marries Lady Mary, just as Lord Silverbridge marries Miss Boncassen, and the duke consents. This is the sum and substance of the story, and there could hardly be less. There is besides, however, a full account of the anxiety which the younger son causes the duke by his college escapades, and the trouble caused by Lord Silverbridge's operations on the turf, in the course of which he is swindled by one Major Tifto and made to lose an enormous sum of money, and of Lord Silverbridge's election to the House of Commons and of his public service there, and of a dozen other little episodes in the lives of the duke and his children, which are all natural, all essentially disconnected and incidental, and bear no relation whatever to the main story.

As a whole it is one of Mr. Trollope's most successful novels. It is pitched in the usual quiet key which all readers of his books know so well, and which is maintained with the hand of a master to the end. We have already said that we do not think Mr. Trollope should be found fault with because his plots are faulty when compared with those which made the success of an entirely different school of fiction. If he has not the art of contriving plots he has that of telling stories, and this, after all, is the fundamental and essential thing. What the art of narration is, why some people should have it and others not, why with the same materials one novelist can hold the attention while another cannot, are mysteries of the literary craft which it is difficult or impossible to penetrate. If they could be penetrated it might be possible to teach people to write good novels, and if such teaching were given it is highly probable that the result would be the production of novels like those of Trollope. There is nothing about them which, superficially, it seems difficult to imagine a dozen writers doing equally well. They all seem, as Hawthorne said, like slices cut off the huge English cheese, and presented for our microscopic inspection under a glass case. But the exhibition must be managed by Trollope himself or it is a failure. For bringing a quiet domestic scene before the eye, for ordinary conversation of any kind, for representing the everyday events of life without exaggeration or distortion, we cannot imagine a novelist superior to the author of the 'Duke's Children.' If any one will examine such a chapter as the one which describes the breakfast-table of the duke and his two sons, and ask himself when he has read it how any detail could be altered so as to increase the reality of the scene, he will find that it is almost impossible to change a word without impairing the effect. This is something, too, which can be said of hardly any other novelist, living or dead. Whole pages and chapters might be expunged from Thackeray and Dickens with vast improvement of the general result. George Eliot might in most of her latest novels be greatly improved upon by a sympathetically critical hand. But Trollope cannot be modified any more than he could be successfully parodied. *Punch* is now attempting this feat, and we are willing to abide the result as a test.

We cannot, then, agree with Mr. White in thinking Mr. Trollope a "naturalistic" writer, though in what he has to say about the naturalistic

* 'The Duke's Children: A Novel. By Anthony Trollope.' Harper & Brothers Franklin Square Library).

theory and its tendencies his argument cannot be disputed. It is easily possible to imagine a story-teller who should apply what Zola thinks is his method to English fiction, and who should produce novels in which form should be altogether sacrificed to nature. But the thing has never yet been done, and it is unfair to attempt to fasten such an arrant piece of gallicism upon so English a writer as Mr. Trollope. He is, unless we are greatly mistaken, the last of the realists, and, like a true Englishman, not even that on any theory. He paints the world as he sees it, but he sees it with just that amount of artistic vision which saves his picture from having the dull flatness of every-day life, and yet never makes the light and shade any lighter or any darker than everybody feels to be within the bounds of naturalness. No one ever, we fancy, read a novel of his without wishing that he might soon write another, and it is only born story-tellers who leave us in this frame of mind.

AN AMERICAN WOMAN'S MEMOIRS.*

THIS autobiography was designed, as the preface informs the reader, to correct the idea that the anti-slavery movement "originated in Infidelity, and was a triumph of Secpticism over Christianity"; "to supply one quota of the inside history of the great Abolition war," and to record some characteristic incidents of the Peculiar Institution; "to give an inside history of the hospitals during the war of the rebellion"; to analyze the causes of the woman's rights agitation and of its limited influence; and to trace the author's own growth from shrinking modesty to entire indifference to newspaper notoriety, and freedom from embarrassment in addressing public meetings. These several objects are accomplished in the course of the chronological personal narrative, extending from 1815 to 1865; but the chapters on Mrs. Swisshelm's hospital experience are consecutive, exclude every other topic, and, as they fill the last third of the book, obscure by their more vivid and painful interest the impression produced by the earlier history. They are frank to the verge of self-laudation, and un-parring in their censure of medical neglect and provost-marshal's red tape, of Miss Dix's primness, and of the folly and inefficiency of volunteer nurses in general. Wherever the critic may draw the line, some praise, admiration, and gratitude will remain for this part of the author's career.

It is easier to acquit Mrs. Swisshelm of septicism than it is to define the present theological status of one who has visions of Christ as "a young man in a grey suit and soft, broad-brimmed hat" (p. 220). She was born of Scotch-Irish Covenanter stock, bearing the grim name of Cannon, and charged to the muzzle with unadulterated Calvinism. She learned to read the Old Testament rapidly before she was three years old, when she was sent to school and showed unusual precocity. She made the great mistake of her life in marrying a rather illiterate Methodist farmer, who wanted her to become a preacher in his church, and whose bigoted mother made her conversion a *sine qua non* of their living comfortably together under the same roof. It does not appear from anything said in the book that her husband has passed away (he married again in 1870), and it would be curious to know whether the world's progress has had such an effect upon him that he can read with complacency, or at least without a blush or without resentment, this account of the causes of their domestic infelicity. The saddest feature of the long struggle which ended in her desertion of him was that her endurance broke down (at the age of forty) just after the birth of the only child that lived to form a bond between them. "He was," she says, perhaps forestalling his epitaph, "not much better than the average man: knew his rights, and knowing sought to maintain them against me." These rights had special reference to her inherited property, and he enforced them with a closeness which made him threaten to file a claim against her mother's executors for wages for the time spent away from him by his wife, without his permission, while nursing that mother in her last illness. This seems shocking enough to-day, but it reflected the spirit of the law quite as much as the character of an individual, and Mrs. Swisshelm, who had previously written articles for the *Pittsburgh Commercial Journal* against the Mexican War, began to publish, after legal study, a series of letters on the subject of a married woman's right to hold property, which led, as she believes—not without help from other quarters—to the passage of a law by the Pennsylvania Legislature, in the session of 1847-48, securing that right. At least, some months afterward, "a young lawyer from Steubenville named Stanton," the future Secretary of War, and henceforth her good friend, sought an introduction to her, and said (p. 104): "I called to congratulate you upon the passage of your bill. It is a change I have long desired to see." Doubtless, Mrs. Swisshelm is prouder of this achievement than of her suggestion of the United States Court of Claims (p. 130), or of the rear red-light signal on railway trains (p. 158).

Mrs. Swisshelm was an abolitionist by virtue of her parentage:

"In the year 1800, the Covenanter church of this country said in her

synod: 'Slavery and Christianity are incompatible,' and never relaxed her discipline which forbade fellowship with slaveholders—so I was brought up an abolitionist. I was still a child when I went through Wilkins township collecting names to a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. Here, in a strictly orthodox Presbyterian community, I was everywhere met by the objection: 'Niggers have no souls,' 'The Jews held slaves,' 'Noah cursed Canaan,' etc. (p. 34).

The family pastor, too, Dr. Black, was in full accord with the synod:

"In the communion service is a ceremony called 'fencing the tables,' which consists of an appeal to the consciences of intended communicants. Dr. Black began with the first commandment, and forbade those living in its violation to come to the table, and so proceeded through the decalogue. When he came to the eighth, he straightened himself, placed his hands behind him, and with thrilling emphasis said, 'I debar from this holy table of the Lord all slaveholders and horse-thieves and other dishonest persons,' and without another word passed to the ninth commandment."

Slavery still lingered in Pennsylvania in Mrs. Swisshelm's early childhood. After her marriage she went to live in the midst of "woman-whippers" in Louisville, Kentucky, and still later she fought the system in the Territory of Minnesota on the very eve of the civil war. She tells some harrowing tales of Kentucky cruelty, but perhaps nothing better marks the character of slavery than passages like this:

"Jerry Wade, the Gault House barber, was a mulatto, who had bought himself and family, and acquired considerable real estate. In the back of one of his houses lived his son with a wife and little daughter. We rented the front, and mother sent me furniture. This was highly genteel, for it gave us the appearance of owning slaves; and Olivia, young Wade's wife, represented herself as my slave, to bring her and her child security. As a free negro she labored under many disadvantages, so begged me to claim her" (p. 62).

Or this (of earlier date):

"To a white woman in Louisville work was a dire disgrace, and one Sabbath four of us sat suffering from thirst, with the pump across the street, when I learned that for me to go for a pitcher of water would be so great a disgrace to the house as to demand my instant expulsion" (p. 60).

With this, however, it is wholesome to compare the following reflection upon the usages of her own Northern neighborhood and home:

"Pennsylvania customs made it unmanly for a man or boy to aid any woman, even mother or wife, in any hard work with which farms abounded at that time. Dairy-work, candle and sausage-making were done by women, and any innovation was met with sneers. I stubbornly refused to yield altogether to a time-honored code which required women to perform out-door drudgery, often while men sat in the house."

In 1848 Mrs. Swisshelm started the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor*, a Liberty Party paper. She was not the first woman-editor in the country, but in direct participation in politics she perhaps took precedence of all other journalists of her sex. She had a plain and forcible style, sufficient positiveness and impulsiveness, and did her share in fostering the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. In 1850 she became the Washington correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and maintained relations with that paper till the close of the war. In 1857 she removed to St. Cloud, Minnesota, where she established a new *Visitor*, and speedily got into hot water with a wealthy slaveholder and his dependents and tools. Her printing-office was mobbed at night by a vigilance committee, and part of the contents thrown into the Mississippi, as in Lovejoy's case, twenty years before. At an indignation meeting held on the evening of the next day she made her maiden speech, with a mob at the doors, and at the imminent peril of her life, which had been already threatened by her persecutors. She had made her preparations for death:

"James McKelvey, a lawyer, and nephew of my husband, drew my will, and I executed it, settled my business, and wrote a statement of the *Visitor* trouble, that it might live if I ceased to do so; then went to bed, sent for Miles Brown to come to my room, and saw him alone. He was a Pennsylvanian, who had the reputation of being a dead shot, and had a pair of fine revolvers. He pledged himself solemnly to go with me and keep near me, and shoot me square through the brain if there was no other way of preventing me falling alive into the hands of the mob. My mind was then at ease, and I slept until my mail was brought."

The temporary triumph of free speech did not extinguish the pro-slavery sentiment of the Territory, and few things in this narrative seem more remote, or, being realized as recent, seem more incredible, than the murderous fugitive-slave riot in Minneapolis in 1860.

It remains to say a few words about the Sioux outbreak of 1862, which converted our philanthropist into one of the most unrelenting enemies of the Indians. Singularly enough, her desire to see them exterminated is justified by her abhorrence of their polygamy and the servile condition of their women. It is clear, however, that her nervous system, unstrung by her wretched married life, and still further weakened by her recent conflict in Minnesota, passed altogether out of control in view of the savage atrocities of the Sioux. While these haunt her imagination she finds the Northern sentiment of pity

* *Half a Century*. By Jane Grey Swisshelm. Chicago: J. G. Swisshelm, 1880.

for the aborigines abominable, and writes as wildly about it as any member of an Indian ring might do. "No one pretends," she shrieks rather than exclaims, "that Western settlers have injured Indians; but Eastern philanthropists, through the Government they control, have, according to their own showing, been guilty of no end of frauds; and as they do not and cannot stop the stealing, they pay their debts to the noble red man by licensing him to outrage women, torture infants, and burn homes." She scouts the idea that the Indians had any title to the lands they were occupying when the country was first colonized. Penn's treaty was "one of the greatest swindles on record since that by which Jacob won the birthright of his starving brother"; and apparently the "woman-whippers" of Georgia in their dealings with the Cherokees set a shining example of theory and practice. It is enough, by way of comment upon such incoherency, to remark that one must not turn to this volume for any light on the causes of the Sioux outbreak, on the extent of the massacre, or on the justice of the multiple hangings which succeeded it; nor, either, for an explanation of the failure of our Indian policy, or for one humane or practicable suggestion how to redeem it.

Mountain and Prairie. A Journey from Victoria to Winnipeg. By the Rev. D. M. Gordon, B.D. (Montreal: Dawson Bros. 1880.)—On the 20th of July, 1871, British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada, one of the articles of confederation stipulating that the Government of the Dominion should begin the construction of a Pacific railway in two years and complete it in ten. The ten years have nearly expired, and at present there are 226 miles of the road in operation near Lake Superior, 505 miles under contract, and 1,225 miles on which nothing has been done except to locate the line. Nearly \$4,000,000 have been expended in the surveys, and different routes have been examined which aggregate 46,000 miles in length. The numerous parties which have made these surveys from time to time have rendered their official reports and statistics to the Dominion Parliament, while nearly always there has appeared a narrative in a more popular form from the pen of some one who accompanied the expedition as a volunteer or an amateur. The book before us belongs to the latter class. The writer was one of a party sent out in May, 1879, for the purpose of examining a route from Port Simpson, near the Alaska boundary, through the Peace River and Pine River passes to the plains. He hopes that "the record of his journey across mountain and prairie may be of use in acquainting some of his fellow-countrymen, in a slight degree, with the character and resources of that half of the Dominion that lies between Winnipeg and the Western Sea."

The Peace River and Pine River passes were found to possess, but slight obstacles to the construction of a railway, their elevation being less than three thousand feet above the sea, but the Dominion Government has since decided definitively in favor of the southern route by the Fraser River, in order that the trade of the lower portion of British Columbia may not seek its way East by California and the United States road. The resources of the country he traversed are sketched by the author with no hesitating touch. British Columbia is rich in lumber, coal, and mines of precious metals; its climate is mild, its harbors never freeze, and they are connected by an inside route, between the islands and the main shore, whose waters are not disturbed by ocean storms. The plains east of the mountains are still more valuable; here are coal-fields 80,000 to 100,000 miles in extent, future provinces, "larger than Scotland," where the wheat yield is "from 50 to 100 per cent. greater than that of the best wheat-lands of the United States," great rivers navigable for hundreds of miles, peaceful Indians, and all the elements of prosperity except a population—which will come as soon as the railroad is built. As an ardent loyalist the author scouts the idea of Canada ever being anything but a British colony, and he considers that these lands "offer special attractions to immigrants from the mother country, for there the shield of the Empire will still be around them"; and he states that the increasing knowledge of the country tends to confirm rather than to refute the contention that "four-fifths of the wheat-producing belt of North America will be found north of the international boundary." In short, the book is a type with which we were very familiar ten years ago, when the lands of the Northern Pacific Railroad were described in such glowing terms, or compared with the less-favored section through which a road had already been built and proved a success. The little incidents of travel, the character of the Indians and half-breeds met on the route, the life at the Hudson Bay posts, and the success of the missions alternate with descriptions of the latent wealth of the country and predictions of its future prosperity. Many of the predictions about our own Northwest have already proved illusory, not a few of them have been fully verified, and the greater part still remain uncertain. It will probably be the same with the lands across the boundary line. Meanwhile, the importance of the Pacific Railroad to the development of Canada cannot be overlooked, and whatever throws any light on its probable success as a commercial enterprise must be of interest to Canadians, and incidentally to our own Northwestern States also.

A Treatise on the Measure of Damages; or, an Enquiry into the Principles which govern the Amount of Pecuniary Compensation awarded by Courts of Justice. By Theodore Sedgwick. Seventh Edition. By Arthur G. Sedgwick and G. Willett Van Nest. (New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co. 1880.)—"Sedgwick on Damages" needs no introduction to professional readers; it is not merely the best book on the subject, but almost the only book; and the fact that it has thus kept the field to itself for more than thirty years is no small testimony to its merits, for had there been any chance of superseding it, many writers would have been glad to try their hands on a subject so interesting and so abounding in material for a treatise. The rapid increase of this material, indeed, has compelled the present editors to bring out the book in two portly volumes, instead of the single volume of former editions.

It is perhaps surprising that this branch of the law should be so recent in its growth, since in every lawsuit that ever existed, in which the defendant was found liable, the question must have arisen, "To what extent is he liable?" The answer was usually left to the discretion of the jury in each case, and their finding was seldom interfered with by the court; or, again, a measure of damages was already fixed by agreement of the parties, as in case of a promise to pay money, so that there were but few judicial decisions which established any precedent in this class of cases. It is the vast modern increase in the number and variety of contracts, and in the magnitude of the interests involved in them, which has added so many cases to the law of damages, and has given rise to so many attempts to reduce them to a system. It seems not unlikely that this tendency to the establishment of fixed rules of compensation will become less marked in proportion as the trial of facts in civil cases by a jury falls into disuse, and a trial by a judge takes its place. That this latter change is now going on, to a very considerable extent, is certain; and it is certain also that wherever it may stop, it will make a great impression in many ways on our legal system, which is based on the idea that all matters of fact are to be determined by a jury according to rules of law laid down to them by a judge. A system under which the judge not only determines what the law is in the abstract but applies it to the facts proved, must tend to make him lose sight of abstract rules in the endeavor to attain justice in the particular case, and to consider rather what the defendant before him ought to pay than what would be a suitable measure of damages in such cases generally.

However this may be, it will be always a matter of interest to would-be plaintiffs to know what are the chances of getting enough by their suits to pay expenses; and to possible defendants, to learn the extent of the liabilities they have incurred; and on these points, so far as the courts have passed upon them, sufficient advice may be given by the aid of this book, and not otherwise. This legal classic has the great advantage over some others of having had successive editors worthy of the author. New notes to standard law-books are apt to consist of vast conglomerations of cases bearing more or less remotely on the subject of the text to which they are appended, without any but the rudest attempt to classify or distinguish them, or to point out the development of the law. The present editors have done their work with intelligence as well as industry; and some of the longer notes contain useful discussions of the present state of the authorities. The fact that they have extended to a length quite disproportionate to the original text is no fault of the editors. The complaint of the growth of law-books is as old as Lord Coke; and the same answer explains it now as then—"Crescit in orbe dolus." When the time comes, as it must come, for the book to be re-written as a whole, not the least valuable part of it will be the result of the patient and thoughtful labor which has evidently been bestowed on these notes. We wish it had seemed practicable to avoid the double system of reference; the pages of the former editions, noted in the margin, being uniformly referred to in the notes, while the paging of the new edition is used in the index and table of cases.

Dramatic Life as I Found It: A record of personal experience; with an account of the rise and progress of the drama in the West and South, with anecdotes and biographical sketches of the principal actors and actresses who have at times appeared upon the stage of the Mississippi Valley. By N. M. Ludlow, Actor and Manager for Thirty-five Years. (St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co. 1880. Pp. xix.-733.)—This is a running tale of histrionic adventure for thirty-eight years, mostly in the then only half-settled Mississippi Valley. Born in 1795, in New York, Mr. Ludlow went on the stage in 1813, and four years later he became a manager. He was in the first regular company of comedians which appeared in Louisville (1817), and he was the manager of the first English-speaking company which performed in New Orleans (1817), Nashville (1817), St. Louis (1819), and Mobile (1824). For eighteen years he was the partner of Sol Smith in managing theatres in New Orleans, St. Louis, and Mobile; with the termination of this partnership in May, 1853, Mr. Ludlow left the stage as manager and actor. Parts of this period have been recorded before, with more or less accuracy, by Sol Smith, by Wemyss, and by Joseph Cowell; but Mr. Ludlow's knowledge was earlier and wider than theirs, and he corrects their errors unsparingly. Indeed, it seems as though the desire to

dwell on their failings was the exciting cause of his own book. To balance, it may be, these strictures, he praises the writings of W. B. Wood, of Mr. Vandenhoff, and of Mr. Ireland, carrying his admiration of the latter gentleman's 'History of the New York Stage' to the extent of openly borrowing from it something like fifty of his own broad pages. So prone is Mr. Ludlow to censure, that after sprinkling his own work with commonplace Latin quotations, he remarks upon the pedantry of Macready in using French and Latin phrases in his 'Reminiscences.' But these are minor failings. The book makes no pretence to literary merit. It is simply a personal narrative, containing a welcome mass of material for the histrionic biographer, and the future annalist of the local stages of the South and West. Careful editing would have excised the frequent repetitions, together with the many quotations from Mr. Ireland, thus reducing the undue bulk of the book. What the work chiefly needs is an index; the table of contents is full but altogether inadequate.

Mr. Ludlow tells fewer anecdotes than most of his fellow-actor-authors; but some of those he does tell are amusing, particularly the one (p. 169) of the first appearance in a low-comedy part of Sam Houston, then a lieutenant. The manager of the amateur club with which he performed was General John H. Eaton, afterwards the husband of Mrs. Eaton, of Kitchen Cabinet notoriety. It is a tradition that Junius Brutus Booth once acted *Oreste* in "Andromaque" in New Orleans in French, a tradition hitherto received without question. Mr. Ludlow shatters it (p. 231). At the request of the French citizens of New Orleans, in 1822, that Booth would act in some play more familiar to them than any of Shakspeare's, he appeared as *Orestes* in Ambrose Phillips's "Distressed Mother"—an English version of Racine's tragedy. In the acting of this the French could follow him, although he spoke his own tongue, and his success was as great in Racine as it had been in Shakspeare. Among other things to be noted (p. 503) in Mr. Ludlow's pages is the first performance in the United States of the "Lady of Lyons" at St. Louis in June, 1838, with Josephine Clifton as *Pauline* and an English actor named Barton as *Claude*. Hitherto the claim of the late "Count Joannes" to have been the original *Claude* in this country has generally been allowed. Mr. Ludlow also records the first production, in Louisville in 1831, of the earliest dramatization of Irving's "Rip Van Winkle," in which the chief part was played by Charles B. Parsons, an actor who afterwards, perhaps imposed upon by his name, gave up the stage for the pulpit, as Spencer Cone had done before him.

Historical Notes on Shipping. By Percy L. Isaac, Member of the Institution of Naval Architects. (London: J. D. Potter; Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1879.)—This little book of one hundred pages embodies a great many facts connected with the history of shipping, from the time of Noah's ark to the present day, rather loosely put together. The matter was, the author informs us, originally prepared as a lecture, delivered at the Jewish Workingmen's Club and Institute, and in the first few chapters an attempt is made to show that the Hebrews had a more direct connection with shipping in ancient times

than writers seem inclined to give them credit for. The succeeding chapters bring the progress of shipping up to the present time, at least half the book being occupied with a very cursory view of modern systems and improvements in shipping and shipbuilding. Almost every subject connected either directly or remotely with shipping which occurs to the author's mind receives some attention. There are some very noticeable blunders. For instance, we are told that Hipparchus made a map on Mercator's projection, and that compound engines came into general use about the year 1856. A complete index ends the volume, and with more frequent reference to the authorities from which the information is derived the book would not be without some value as a very brief compendium of knowledge on a very comprehensive subject.

Little Comedies. By Julian Sturgis. New Handy-Volume Series, No. 59. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1880.)—At first glance it is somewhat hard to know where to place these 'Little Comedies.' Dramatic in form, and in form only, they wholly lack the action which is the life of the drama. They are but dialogues, almost without movement, and they are not always even so far dramatic, for in "Half-way to Arcady" the dialogue dies away, and in his proper person the poet himself sums up in the regular rhyming tag. Obviously, these are comedies not meant for the use of comedians—even in a parlor. Fortunately the author steps in to help us out; they appeared originally in *Blackwood's*, and in a later number of that magazine is another little comedy, "A Lay Confessional," evidently from the same hand, and this is preceded by a brief letter, in which the writer calls his work a sketch "thrown into a dramatic form." "Do not be deceived by its form into supposing this to be a play," he adds. "It is only a series of scenes, without beginning, middle, or end, . . . making no pretence to completeness." And this fairly enough characterizes the book before us. Only two of the six pieces are in verse, but in two others the characters drop into fragments of pretty and dainty song. In "Half-way to Arcady" and in "Fireflies" there is a commingling of wit and of fantasy not remotely recalling De Musset; and, as in many of De Musset's plays, the action seems to pass in that Bohemia which is a desert country by the sea. "Apples" we like less; we have heard of its being acted—by main force doubtless, for it is not bright enough for the stage. Indeed, "Picking up the Pieces" is the only play likely to reward the player; this is accidentally dramatic enough to act; it has sufficient story, sufficient climax to hold an audience, and its very clever wit is more robust than the jesting in its more delicate companions.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Bundy (J. M.), <i>Life of Gen. James A. Garfield</i>	(A. S. Barnes & Co.)	\$1.00
Butler (A. J.), <i>The Purgatory of Dante</i> , prose translation.....	(Macmillan & Co.)	3.50
Dunlop (Dr. R. J.), <i>New School Physiology</i>	(Porter & Coates)	
Dunlop (Dr. R. J.), <i>Republican Text-book for 1880</i> , swd.....	(D. Appleton & Co.)	
Hirsh (H.), <i>Practical Treatise on Juries</i>	(George S. Doss)	
Oncken (W.), <i>Allgemeine Geschichte</i> , Parts 17, 18, swd.....	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
Riddle (A. G.), <i>Life of James A. Garfield</i>	(James J. Chapman)	
Savage (Rev. M. J.), <i>Talks about Jesus</i>	(Geo. H. Ellis)	1.00
Sigsbee (Lt.-Com. C. D.), <i>Deep-Sea sounding and Dredging</i>	(Washington)	
Stieler (A.), <i>Hand-Atlas</i> , Parts 16, 17, swd.....	(B. Westermann & Co.)	
Tarbell (F. B.), <i>Philippines of Demosthenes</i>	(Ginn & Heath)	
Weisse (Dr. J. A.), <i>The Obelisk and Freemasonry</i>	(J. W. Bouton)	2.00
Young (A. W.), <i>Government Class-Book</i> , new ed.....	(Clark & Maynard)	

Leisure-Hour Series.

16mo, \$1 per volume.

RECENT AND FAVORITE VOLUMES.

TROUBLESOME DAUGHTERS. By Mrs. L. B. Walford.

CHRISTY CAREW. By May Laffan.

DEMOCRACY. An American Novel.

CAPTAIN FRACASSE. By Théophile Gautier.

CAVENDISH'S CARD ESSAYS, CLAY'S Decisions, and Card-Table Talk.

HENRY HOLT & CO., New York.

JUST RECEIVED:

Catalogue d'une Bibliotheque d'ouvrages de choix.

Elzéviens.—Aldes.—Ouvrages des XVI. et XVII. siècles.—Livres à gravures du XVIII. siècle.
—Livres de Numismatique.—Ouvrages de bibliographie, d'histoire, de philosophie et de belles lettres, tirés à petit nombre et rares.
8. 167 pages.

The undersigned are authorized to sell the above valuable library, consisting of 738 lots. The entire collection only—no single divisions from it—will be sold. Price, \$1,750.

Catalogues may be had on application.

August, 1880.

B. WESTERMANN & CO.,

FOREIGN BOOKSELLERS, 238 Broadway, New York.

New Books in Press.

GRIMM'S LIFE AND TIMES OF

Goethe. Translated by Miss Sarah Holland Adams. With an Introduction by the author for the American edition.

Andrew D. White, United States Minister to Berlin, says: "I have known but few translations from the German as good."

MULLER'S POLITICAL HISTORY

of Recent Times. 1815-1875. By William Muller, Professor at Tubingen. Translated by Rev. J. P. Peters. With Preface by Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University.

HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST

of Spain by the Arab-Moors. By Prof. Henry Coppée.

THE BACTERIA. By Antoine Mag-

nin. Translated by George M. Sternberg, M.D., Surgeon U.S.A.

HISTORY OF PROCEDURE IN

England during the Norman Period. By Melville M. Bigelow.

LITTLE, BROWN & CO.,

254 Washington Street.

UNMOUNTED PHOTOGRAPHS

OF ANCIENT and MODERN WORKS OF ART, embracing reproductions of famous original paintings, sculpture, architectural subjects, etc. Price, cabinet size, \$1.50 per doz. Send stamp for catalogue of 1,600 subjects. JOHN P. SOULE, Publisher, 338 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

To Summer Tourists.

ALLAN STEAMSHIP LINE,

From Baltimore to Halifax, and vice versa.

The A 1 British Royal Mail Iron Screw Steamships,
HIBERNIAN, 3,200 tons, Capt. Lieutenant Archer, R.N.R.
NOVA SCOTIAN, 3,200 tons, Capt. Richardson.
CASPIAN, 3,000 tons, Capt. Trocks.

LEAVE BALTIMORE EVERY FORTNIGHT, WEDNESDAYS,

FOR HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

Cabin passage to Halifax, \$20 gold. Round Trip Ticket, \$35 gold.

This opportunity, by offering, as it were, an abbreviation of a European trip, is exceptionally agreeable to those who desire a change from the usual round of American pleasure resorts.

For further information apply to A. SCHUMACHER & CO.,
5 South Gay Street, Baltimore, Md.

NORTH GERMAN LLOYD

STEAMSHIP COMPANY,

FOR SOUTHAMPTON AND BREMEN.

The Steamers of this Company will sail every Saturday from Bremen Pier, foot of Third Street, Hoboken.

RATES OF PASSAGE TO LONDON, HAVRE, AND

BREMEN:
First Cabin, \$100; Second Cabin, \$60. Steerage, \$30. Prepaid Steerage Certificates, \$22.

For freight or passage apply to

OELRICHS & CO., AGENTS,

2 Bowling Green

Schools.

Continued from page iii.

NEW YORK, Poughkeepsie.

SENT on application, enclosing two three-cent stamps, the "Index of Riverview Academy," containing, with other matter of interest to students and school-boys, a comparative tabular statement of the "Work Preparatory for admission to the principal Eastern Colleges and Scientific Schools and to the Government Academies." OTIS BISBEE, Principal.

NEW YORK, Poughkeepsie.

WASSAR COLLEGE, for the Liberal Education of Women. Examinations for entrance, September 15. Catalogues sent on application to

W. L. DEAN, Registrar.

NEW YORK, Randolph.

CHAMBERLAIN INSTITUTE (established 1891). On the A. & G. W. R. R., in the Chautauque Lake region. A well-endowed and successful seminary for both sexes. The usual Library departments and a very flourishing Commercial School and Music Department. 352 different students last year. Pure air, mountain-spring water, good food, and careful supervision. No deaths in thirty years. Endowments such that we will receive a student (total expense) for one term for \$50; for one year, \$150.

Catalogue sent free on application to the Principal, Prof. J. T. EDWARDS, D.D. Fall Term opens August 24.

NEW YORK, Rochester.

LIVINGSTON PARK SEMINARY.—Home and Day School for Young Ladies. Twenty-second year begins September 15, 1883. Special attention to health. Send for circular. Mrs. C. M. CURTIS, Principal.

NEW YORK, Rye, Westchester Co.

PARK INSTITUTE. A School for Boys. Terms, \$500 a year. HENRY TATLOCK, Principal.

NEW YORK, Rye.

RYE SEMINARY.—For particulars address Mrs. S. J. LIFE.

NEW YORK, Sing Sing.

CEDAR GLEN SEMINARY, for Young Ladies, furnishes a thorough course of study in English and modern languages; also, a classical department for pupils fitting for college. Terms moderate. Reopens Sept. 15. Mrs. M. E. PERKINS, Principal.

NEW YORK, Suspension Bridge.

DE VEAUX COLLEGE.—Prepares for the Universities, etc. Terms, \$450 per annum. 29 Foundation Scholarships. Rev. GEO. HERBERT PATTERSON, President.

NEW YORK, Tarrytown-on-the-Hudson.

MISS BULKLEY'S SCHOOL for Young Ladies will reopen Wednesday, September 15.

NEW YORK, Unionville, Orange Co.

HARTWELL'S FAMILY SCHOOL for Boys offers thorough preparation for college, or an equivalent, in a safe and pleasant home. Fourteenth year. Correspondence solicited. S. S. HARTWELL, A.M.

NEW YORK, Utica.

MRS. PIATT'S SCHOOL for Young Ladies. Fall term begins Wednesday, Sept. 15, 1880. Applications must be made early.

OHIO, Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI LAW SCHOOL.—Forty-eighth annual term opens Oct. 12. Address JACOB D. COX, LL.D., Dean, 200 Main Street.

OHIO, Cincinnati, 165 W. Seventh Street and Walnut Hills.

MISS NOURSE'S FAMILY AND DAY SCHOOL reopens Sept. 21. Communication by private omnibus between home on Walnut Hills and City School. Pupils are fitted for the Harvard Examinations and for college. Foreign teachers are resident, and best musical advantages of the city made available. Circulars sent on application.

PENNSYLVANIA, Bellefonte.

SCHOOL IN THE MOUNTAINS.—A Presbyterian School for Small Boys only. Five instructors. Terms, \$250 per year. Rev. J. P. HUGHES, Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Bethlehem.

BISHOP THORPE.—A Boarding School for Girls. School year begins Sept. 15, 1880. Number of scholars limited. For circulars address Miss FANNY I. WALSH, Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Chester.

PENNSYLVANIA Military Academy opens Sept. 8. Civil Engineering, Chemistry, Classics, and English. Degrees conferred. Col. THEO. HYATT, President.

PENNSYLVANIA, Germantown.

MADAME CLEMENT'S School for Young Ladies and Children will begin its twenty-third year Sept. 15, 1880. Applications should be made without delay, as Miss Clement will be in Europe from June 9 to Sept. 10. During her absence information or circulars can be obtained from Miss EUGENE PAULIN, Germantown, Pa.

PENNSYLVANIA, Germantown.

MISS MARY E. STEVENS'S Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies. The autumn session will begin Sept. 14, 1880.

PENNSYLVANIA, Haverford College P.O.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE, under the care of the Society of Friends (Orthodox). THOS. CHASE, LL.D., President. For catalogues apply to Prof. ALLEN C. THOMAS, Prefect.

PENNSYLVANIA, Lewistown.

LEWISTOWN ACADEMY.—Graduates have all entered college in good standing. W. H. SCHUYLER, Ph.D., Prin.

PENNSYLVANIA, Lititz, Lancaster Co.

LINDEN HALL (Moravian) SEMINARY. Eighty-seventh year. For circulars address Rev. H. A. BRIKENSTEIN, Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Mechanicsburg (near Harrisburg).

IRVING Female College. 25th year, Sept. 15. An elegant home-school for forty family pupils. Rev. T. F. EOR, A.M., Pres.

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, 1427 and 1529 Spruce Street.
CHEGARAY INSTITUTE.—Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies and Children. Latin, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish. French is the language of the family. Madame D'HERVILLY, Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, 1515 Chestnut Street.
CHESTNUT STREET SEMINARY.—Miss BONNEY and Miss DILLAY, Principals. This oldest and largest Boarding and Day School in Philadelphia will commence its thirty-first year September 22.

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia.
MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE University of Pennsylvania. One hundred and fiftieth Annual Session. The attention of students looking to the profession of Medicine is particularly called to this the oldest Medical School in the United States. Recent changes in the curriculum include a prolongation of the course, and the introduction of much laboratory teaching and practical instruction in all the branches of medical science. For an announcement containing full particulars address JAMES TYSON, M.D., Secretary Faculty of Medicine.

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, 1320 Pine Street.
MISS ANABLE'S BOARDING and DAY School will reopen September 15.

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, 1519 Walnut Street.
MISS M. S. GIBSON'S School for Young Ladies will reopen for the Fall Session Sept. 22. Home pupils limited.

PENNSYLVANIA, Philadelphia, Summit St., Chestnut Hill.
MRS. W. D. COMEGYS and Miss BELL'S Boarding and Day School for Young Ladies and Children will reopen Sept. 15. Number limited. Early applications requested. Address as above.

PENNSYLVANIA, Pottstown, Montgomery Co.
COTTAGE SEMINARY, for Young Ladies. Thirty-first Annual Session begins on Thursday, September 15, 1880. Limited in number. For catalogues apply to GEO. G. BUTLER, A.M., Principal.

PENNSYLVANIA, Reading.
DIOCESAN (MILITARY) SCHOOL of Central Pennsylvania. Term opens September 7, 1880. For catalogue, etc., address
RE. REV. M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE, D.D., LL.D.,
Rev. JOSEPH M. TURNER, Head-Master,
A. N. ARMS, Jr., Commandant of Cadets.

RHODE ISLAND, Providence, Box 37.
FRIENDS' BOARDING SCHOOL will open its sixty-second year, 9 mo. 1st, 1880. For catalogue address AUGUSTINE JONES, Principal.

VERMONT, Burlington.
CIVIL ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT of University of Vermont. Special advantages for practice in field-work, and in harbor and river surveying. Tuition \$45 per annum. Address M. H. BUCKHAM, President.

VIRGINIA, Lexington.
VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.—Extract from report of Examining Board, July, 1875: "In conclusion, your committee cannot too highly commend what has seemed to them the marked and distinguishing features of this institution—the happy combination of the military system of instruction with the departments of science and of literary culture, and the more ennobling culture of the heart and soul. Nowhere else have we seen this combination so complete and perfect. We cannot speak of it too highly. It is such a system as fits a pupil for life and for death. Under its guidance he is sure to tread always the path of duty, virtue, and honor."
(Signed)
"CHARLES DAVIES, LL.D."
"WM. F. BARRY, Maj.-Gen. U.S.A."
"D. H. COCHRAN, LL.D., Brooklyn Pol. Inst."
"T. WARREN GRIGSBY, Kentucky."

Session opens 1st September. Apply to FRANCIS H. SMITH, Supt.

WISCONSIN, Milwaukee.
MARKHAM ACADEMY.—The seventeenth school year begins Sept. 6. Fitting boys for college is made a specialty. A. MARKHAM, Principal.

Wants.

A COLLEGE GRADUATE, with five years' constant experience as a teacher, desires position for fall. Address M. A. L., *Nation* office.

A FAMILY needing the services of an efficient lady, who is experienced, educated, and practical, for responsible duties with tuition of children, can secure such a one by addressing FAITHFUL, *Nation* office.

A HARVARD GRADUATE, who has had some experience in teaching, wishes to obtain a pupil to take abroad. Refers to Prof. F. J. Child, Cambridge, Mass. Address F. Brewster, 86 Walnut Avenue, Roxbury, Mass.

A PH.D. OF HARVARD, who has studied two years at Berlin, desires a place where he can teach Anglo-Saxon or English, the modern languages or comparative philology, or a place in a school as sub-master, or to fit boys for college. The best references can be given. Address B. W. WELLS, Cambridge, Mass.

THE UNION TEACHERS' AGENCY provides schools and families with principals, tutors, governesses, or teachers of any grade promptly; recommends good schools to parents; aids teachers in obtaining positions; sells or rents school property. For further information call on or address A. LOVELL & CO., 42 Bond Street, New York.

WANTED—A Governess in a private family, thoroughly competent to teach Music, French, and the English branches. Address Judge ROBINSON, Centerville, Md.

WANTED—A HARVARD GRADUATE as resident tutor in a family. Address P.O. Box 728, Peekskill, N. Y.

WANTED—in an Industrial School in Penn-sylvania, an assistant male teacher to teach the English branches and the rudiments of mathematics and the sciences; the position is a permanent one, and to a person who will take an interest in his work and will make himself useful a fair salary will be paid.

Address, with full particulars as to age, capabilities, and where educated, A. B. C., P.O. Box 262, New York.

"MAJOR BUNDY'S LIFE OF GEN. GARFIELD IS THE BEST."
New York Commercial Advertiser.

AN ILLUSTRATED CAMPAIGN LIFE OF

General Garfield.

Messrs. A. S. BARNES & CO., of New York, have now ready the **LIFE OF GENERAL JAMES A. GARFIELD**, by Major J. M. BUNDY, the well-known editor of the *New York Evening Mail*. The work is issued in the very best style, and is elaborately illustrated. It has been the aim alike of the author and the publisher to present to the American people a biography of the Republican standard-bearer which would have claims to public attention not usually possessed by ephemeral campaign productions. In addition to various other illustrations, it is enriched with a full-length steel portrait by Hall, the eminent engraver, from a recent picture taken at the suggestion of the publishers; a portrait of General Garfield in his youth, and a portrait of him as he appeared when he first entered the Army as Colonel of an Ohio regiment.

Major Bundy, from his intimate personal relations with Mr. Garfield, has enjoyed superior advantages in the preparation of his work. He has taken down from the lips of Mr. Garfield himself the story of his early life and its struggles; he has had free access to Mr. Garfield's private and official correspondence, and has been aided and assisted with the loving zeal of Mr. Garfield's life-long friends and acquaintances in the desire and effort to make this the standard and authoritative record of the great Republican leader. Major Bundy is recognized all over the country as an able, forcible, and picturesque writer, as well as a profound political student, and his work will undoubtedly take high rank among the best political memoirs of recent times. The story of General Garfield's life is singularly full of romance. It is a life which in itself illustrates the highest possibilities of American citizenship, and should kindle in the heart of every citizen, particularly in the heart of every young man of this generation, a glowing affection for his country and its institutions. This story, as told in the charming narrative of Major Bundy, is as fascinating as any romance.

Mr. Bundy, recognizing the true significance of the approaching contest, has wisely emphasized the statesmanlike qualities of his subject. General Garfield's career in the halls of Congress is accordingly treated here more fully than it can possibly be treated in any other work at the present day; for not only have all the various sources of information already mentioned been fully explored, but the author has had turned over to him for use in the preparation of his work a large number of the General's private letters to his constituents and others (among which appears his correspondence with Mr. B. A. Hinsdale, of Hiram College), covering all the years of his public life, which fully explain and illustrate the position he occupied upon all the great questions that have come before the country during the past fifteen years.

The work is in every respect most complete and authentic. Its value as an assistant in the present campaign cannot be overestimated. It will furnish to voters and to public speakers such a body of facts, such a wealth of incident and anecdote, such an array of noble and elevated sentiments from the public speeches and private letters of Mr. Garfield (material that cannot be found elsewhere), that it may well be called the Republican *rade-mecum*.

Agents wanted for this work in every city and town in the United States.

Price \$1, cloth; 50 cents, paper. Address

A. S. BARNES & CO., Publishers,
111 and 113 William Street, New York.

READY IN AUGUST.

Secrets of the Great Whiskey Ring.

Containing a complete Exposure of the Illicit Whiskey Frauds culminating in 1875, and the connection of Grant, Babcock, Douglas, Chester H. Krum, and other Administration Officers, established by positive and unequivocal documentary proofs, comprising fac-similes of confidential letters and telegrams, emanating from the White House, directing the management of the Ring. Portraits of Gen. Grant, Gen. Babcock, Gen. Garfield, Ex-Sec. Bristow, Gen. John B. Henderson, and the famous "Sylph." To which is added the Missing Links in the chain of evidence of James A. Garfield's implication with the District of Columbia Ring and the Credit-Mobilier steal. By Gen. John McDonald, formerly Supervisor of Internal Revenue for the District comprising Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Kansas, Indian Territory, and New Mexico.

What the St. Louis press says, after looking at the advance-sheets:

"It is a shameful showing of corruption, rascality, and cupidity. The flood of new light which is here presented to the country may have the effect of reopening the cases of some gentlemen who fancied that they had passed from public view—notably that of Gen. Babcock."

"John McDonald's knowledge of the relations of the party to the Ring, of the Ring to the party, and of both to the Grant Administration in 1875, made his position important then and his revelations of value now."—*Springfield Republican*, Aug. 9, 1880.

"In the course of his narrative General McDonald abundantly redeems the promise to lay bare the secrets of the Rings. He deals with the names of those who have stood high at Washington and here in St. Louis, but who escaped during the exposures at the time. No such terrible arraignment of leading men ever made its appearance in this country."—*St. Louis Daily Times*, Aug. 7.

One 12mo vol. of 40 pages, with portraits and fac-simile letters, price, cloth, \$2.

* For sale by all booksellers, or mailed, post-paid, on receipt of price.

BELFORD, CLARKE & CO., Publishers,
CHICAGO.

THE BONANZA FOR BOOK-AGENTS

is selling our two splendidly-illustrated books, *Lives of*

Hancock and Garfield,

the first written by his life-long friend, Hon. J. W. Forney, an author of national fame, and an ardent admirer of the "superb soldier"; the second written by his comrade-in-arms and personal friend, Gen. Jas. S. Brislin, an author of wide celebrity. Both official, low-priced, immensely popular, and selling beyond precedent. Agents double profits by selling both. Outfits, 50 cents each. Act quick and coin money.

HUBBARD BROS., 723 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

